AFRICA. No. 8 (1899).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

STATUS OF SLAVERY

IN

EAST AFRICA

AND THE

ISLANDS OF ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

[In continuation of "Africa No. 6 (1898)."]

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
August 1899.

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Correspondence respecting the Status of Slavery in East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

[In continuation of "Africa No. 6 (1898)."]

No. 1.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received July* 11.)

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, June* 13, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 9th ultimo, respecting Seyyid Khalifa's engagement that all children born in his dominions after the 1st January, 1890, should be free. I was inaccurate in my reference to this engagement in my despatch of the 9th February,* which was written from Mombasa, where I was unable to refer to previous papers, for there was not even an unpublished Decree on the subject, but merely an article in a Treaty, which the Sultan stipulated should be kept secret, at least so far as his own subjects were concerned, until he was in a position to make it public. Only three copies of this Treaty, or rather two originals and one copy, are in existence, one the English original which was sent home to your Lordship, one the Arabic original, which is in the archives of Her Majesty's Agency, and one in English, a mere copy of the English original, which is bound up in the volumes of our confidential correspondence. As a consequence the two Sultans who succeeded Seyyid Khalifa remained in ignorance of the engagement, and the present Sultan was, I believe, the first to learn of its existence in the course of the discussions which took place in connection with the last abolition Decree.

The Native Courts at Mombasa approached the question of this Agreement, as I imagine they were bound to do, in a purely legal spirit, looking at it as a matter of law alone, without reference to considerations of expediency. They dealt with it precisely as they would have dealt with an engagement by Seyyid Khalifa about the sale of liquors, or about a concession to a foreign merchant, and so dealing they found that there was before them no legal evidence, or any evidence at all except report, of the existence of the Agreement, much less of its embodiment in any legal instrument which could make it binding upon the subjects of the Sultan. By the laws and customs of Zanzibar an order of the Sultan must be formally issued in a particular way (like an "Order in Council" with us) before its provisions can be appealed to or enforced, for the Sultan, though an absolute Prince, is not an utterly irresponsible despot, but is, I believe, bound, both by usage and the Sheria of Islam, to observe in making his enactments certain regular and recognized legal forms, and as a matter of principle the doctrine that a law cannot be held to be binding before publication is, I think, pretty generally received both in Christian and Mahommedan States. From a strictly legal point of view, therefore (and Mr. Cracknall thinks also from that of "equity"), the Courts could not take away rights secured by law, and by earlier and later Decrees (for Seyyid Ali's Decree, on which the present rights of slave-owners rest, confirms all Decrees and Ordinances made by his predecessors, but says nothing of Treaties) on the strength of a Treaty stipulation of uncertain existence and wording, and which, moreover, even if its existence could have been proved, was not embodied as required by the local law, in any Decree, Ordinance, or Regulation.

I fully understand however that, whatever may be the views of jurists, Her Majesty's Government in their natural anxiety to promote the disappearance of slavery, should regard the question from the broader standpoint of policy and utility, and it was

* See "Africa No. 6 (1898)," No. 27.

for this reason that I thought it right to call your Lordship's attention to the decision of the Judicial authorities. Now that I know your opinion on the subject, it will be quite easy for me to give effect to it without encroaching upon the province of Tribunals.

The simplest way of doing this would appear to be that I should issue a short notification in English and Arabic, which would be sent to the various authorities concerned, but which as affecting only natives and not British subjects, need not contain any reference to "The East Africa Order in Council."

The notification would run somewhat as follows:—

"Whereas His late Highness Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd agreed on the 13th September, 1889, with Her Majesty's then Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, that all persons born in his dominions after the 1st January, 1890, should be free.

"And whereas some doubt has arisen, owing to the non-promulgation of this Agreement in His Highness' mainland dominions, whether it is valid and operative in them.

"It is hereby declared by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the East Africa Protectorate, under authority from Her Majesty's Government, that the said Agreement is valid and operative in the aforesaid mainland dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that no person born subsequent to the 1st January, 1890, can be legally claimed as a slave within them."

I should mention that no appeal has been, or is likely to be, instituted from the decisions of the two Mombasa Courts. It was not in fact raised by the parties, but by Mr. Craufurd himself, who knowing of the Agreement by report, was in doubt whether, notwithstanding the numerous precedents to the contrary, the Court could not, or ought not to enforce it.

As regards Zanzibar, I have informed the Sultan's Government in the note of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, that no compensation should, until further notice, be paid in respect of children born since the 1st January, 1890. The instances in which it has been paid up to the present are, Mr. Alexander informs me, very few.

Turning next, as directed by your Lordship, to the interests of the children as affected by the Agreement, I do not believe that its enforcement will be attended by any widespread or serious injury to them; and, in any case, the danger of this happening is likely to diminish every year as the number of parents, and therefore of children, born as slaves, decreases both here and on the mainland by the operation of the existing laws, and as the children themselves, many of whom are over 8 years old, become more and more able to support themselves. The poorer slave-owners, who count every penny they possess, and can ill afford to fill a number of young mouths without prospect of return, may in many cases, if they realize the meaning of the measure, turn these children, both here and on the mainland, out of doors; and in the case of the little girls, the majority of those so turned out will probably become prostitutes at a very early age, though many may be rescued by the Missions in districts where the latter have stations. But the wealthier Arabs, whose religion enjoins on them, and who practice on the whole in a high degree, the virtues of charity and humanity to their dependents, would, I believe, think it dishonourable to cast out any helpless young children whom, whatever their status by our laws, they would regard as still their slaves in the eyes of God, and as possessing on that account a moral claim on them. To a man who is well off and given to Eastern hospitality the supplying of the simple wants of native Africans is not a very serious expense; two or three pairs of small black hands, more or less, in the rice dish will not ruin him, and I do not think, if the notification suggested above is issued, that its effect will for some time be widely felt, for the young slaves themselves will not move in the matter unless we compel them, which your Lordship would, I think, scarcely wish us to do.

The chief danger these children have to fear from the enforcement of the Agreement lies in cases where their master dies, leaving several sons and daughters, and they are claimed before the Courts (on the mainland) by his various legal heirs. If the Courts treat the Agreement as a valid Decree, they must in such a case face its consequences and free the children, who will thus become masterless and homeless, until, tempted by hunger to theft, they find a new home and begin a new and less pleasant form of servitude within the walls of the Protectorate gaol. The Missions, as I have stated above, may help to mitigate the evil, and the Courts might be asked to send homeless freed children to them. The best arrangement would, I think, be to apprentice them, after freeing them, for a term of years, or until they could support themselves, to their masters, where the latter were trustworthy and honourable;

but I make this suggestion with some diffidence, in view of the feeling expressed in England against apprenticeship, and its rejection by your Lordship in your instruction to me of February 1897. I would not, indeed, have ventured to submit it at all but for the important difference between the apprenticeship in individual cases of young homeless children (which exists in England itself), and the institution of a general system of apprenticeship for all slaves, young and old, as a sort of universal transition or middle term between servitude and absolute freedom, which is what I understood you more especially to condemn. The future of the freed girl children is, moreover, for obvious reasons, a graver problem than that of the boys.

Your Lordship will be able to judge from the foregoing observations of some of the difficulties in the way of combining a strict enforcement of Seyyid Khalifa's engagement with the material and moral interests of the slave children. It is easy to exaggerate these difficulties, and when all has been said, a little homeless negro waif in East Africa is not as badly off as a white child similarly situated in Europe; but that some degree of suffering will be occassioned in many cases to these children, is, I fear inevitable, and though it may be palliated and in particular instances entirely remedied, I cannot suggest any general panacea. It is one of the numerous hardships which a radical and rapid social change, such as that through which these countries are being forced, must inflict on many classes and individuals.

P.S.—June 17th. I have the honour to inclose hereby a copy of Mr. Alexander's reply to my note to him of the 12th instant which has just been received by me.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Sir A. Hardinge to Mr. Alexander.

(Extract.) *Zanzibar, June* 12, 1898.

YOU are aware that on the 13th September, 1889, His Highness Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd, signed an Agreement with Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, which provided amongst other things that all children born in his dominions after January 1890 should be free. This Agreement was reported to Her Majesty's Government, and is now generally known to all persons in Great Britain who are interested in the affairs of Zanzibar.

The Article respecting children born after 1890 was, however, owing to the unwillingness of the Sultan to offend his subjects, never published or issued in any legal form here, and has therefore not hitherto been deemed legally valid in accordance with the laws and customs of Zanzibar. The Courts in the mainland dominions of His Highness, both in the time of the Imperial British East Africa Company and since, have also apparently always held themselves bound to ignore it until it was embodied in legal form, and my attention having recently been called to a case in which they did so, I deemed it my duty to report their action to Her Majesty's Secretary of State. In doing so I mentioned to his Lordship that the Zanzibar Government were giving compensation in respect of children born since 1890, on the ground, which they had thought not contested, that these children were "legally" held, inasmuch as no prohibition to hold them had been embodied in any instrument, which, according to the laws of Zanzibar, was binding on His Highness' subjects.

I have now received a despatch from the Marquess of Salisbury in which he informs me that this view cannot be admitted by Her Majesty's Government, and that no compensation should be paid for children born after the 1st January, 1890.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Mr. Alexander to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Zanzibar, June* 17, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch of the 12th instant with reference to an Agreement signed on the 13th May, 1889, between Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd and Her Majesty's Agent.

I note that the Marquess of Salisbury has informed you that Her Majesty's Government cannot admit the view that has been hitherto taken of the Agreement by the Courts in the mainland, and more lately by the Courts of His Highness' Govern-

ment here in awarding compensation in respect of children born since 1890. I shall therefore do as you request, namely, give no further compensation to owners of children born since 1890, and direct the Courts, here and at Pemba, not to award compensation in similar cases.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. ALEXANDER,
Acting Treasurer.

No. 2.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 11.)

My Lord, *Mombasa, June* 18, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner for this province, whom I informed verbally on my arrival here this morning, of your Lordship's decision with regard to Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement of September 1889. Mr. Craufurd is strongly of opinion that if the interests of the young slave children are to be considered at all, any public Proclamation of the loss of their alleged masters' rights over them should be delayed, at any rate in so far as the Seyyidieh Province is concerned, until such time as the famine is no longer serious.

He thinks that the views expressed by me in my despatch of the 13th June would be correct in normal periods, but that the extreme distress prevailing both among slave-owners and slaves in the coast districts has created a somewhat exceptional situation, and in view of his special local knowledge, I am not prepared to say that he is not right.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Mr. Craufurd to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Mombasa, June* 18, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to state, for your information, in connection with the conversation that has taken place between us respecting the enforcement of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement with Sir Gerald Portal, under which all children born after the 1st January, 1890, should be free, that it is desirable, in view of the famine now being experienced in the Coast districts, that no active steps should be taken until food has resumed its normal price and employment is obtainable on the plantations.

The Swahilis as well as the Wanyika are suffering from hunger, in consequence of prolonged drought; and as the slave owners on the mainland are not as a class wealthy, it is probable that the children who have no claims upon them, after this Agreement becomes law, will be hardly treated even if they are not absolutely turned adrift.

It is a fact well known to yourself that, in time of famine, it is the children rather than the adults who are the first to be offered for sale as slaves, and this practice has lately been brought to my notice by the district officers and missionaries.

These illegal acts all officers are doing their best to prevent, and all children found to be thus sold will be set free.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. H. CRAUFURD.

No. 3.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 27, 1898.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 13th and 18th ultimo, which relate to the question of the validity of the Agreement signed by Seyyid Khalifa in 1889, and deal specially with the effect of the clause which declares that all children born in the Zanzibar dominions after the 1st January, 1890, shall be free.

I note with satisfaction that the Government of His Highness the Sultan has, on your advice, given instructions that no compensation is to be paid by the Courts for any children born since that date, on behalf of whom it may be claimed by those who have considered themselves to be their owners, and that all such claimants will be informed that compensation is refused, in view of the provisions of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement with Her Majesty's Government.

With regard to any public Notification of the insistence by Her Majesty's Government on the validity of that Agreement, the arguments advanced by Mr. Craufurd, as set forth in your despatch of the 18th June, appear to Her Majesty's Government to justify the temporary postponement of such a step, in consequence of the state of famine at present prevailing in the Seyyidieh Province.

As soon, however, as this exceptional condition of affairs has ceased to exist, and the food supplies have recovered their normal character, you should acquaint me with the fact, and should take steps for the public Notification of the views of Her Majesty's Government both in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and on the mainland.

Since it is very important that there should be in the future no doubt as to the validity of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement, it is the hope of Her Majesty's Government that these conditions may very shortly be realized.

In connection with the question of compensation, it will be well for you to strengthen the hands of the Sultan's Government by reminding them that, under clause 4 of the Decree of 1890, slaves may be inherited at the death of their owner only by the lawful children of the deceased; and that, if the owner leaves no such children, his slaves shall, *ipso facto*, become free on the death of their owner.

The information in my possession does not enable me to say whether this provision was fulfilled in the case reported in your despatch of the 9th February,* which gave rise to the present correspondence. Her Majesty's Government trust that the effect of the Notification at no distant date of the Agreement of 1889 will not be attended with the consequences to the children which you apprehend; and the considerations to which you draw attention in the case of the richer Arabs, seem to them likely in practice to find an even wider application. Should, however, any children be left suddenly without home or master, it would appear to be in the power of the Courts, without receiving any fresh or special instructions, to make such dispositions for their welfare as may seem best at the moment, whether by making some sort of contractual arrangement of a voluntary and terminable character between child and master, such as has already been made in many cases between full-grown freed slaves and their late masters, or by sending the children to some missionary or charitable institution. In the former case, care would of course be required to avoid sanctioning any measure that might be interpreted as bestowing upon the masters any revival of rights which, under the terms of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement as henceforward to be enforced, would have long ceased to exist.

In this connection, I should be glad of your opinion as to the desirability and cost of a Government institution, either in Zanzibar or elsewhere, at which children who were left homeless could be received and trained to different trades and callings of a practical nature.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 4.

Mr. R. Brewin to Mr. Chamberlain.—(*Communicated to Foreign Office, September 2.*)

Dear Sir, 6, *Henrietta Street, Spalding, August* 31, 1898.

MAY I have the honour of inviting your kind attention to a paragraph on p. 134 of "The Missionary Echo" for September on the above subject?

1. May I ask if it is according to your instructions to Mr. Craufurd that he should hand back freed slaves into slavery again? If not—

2. May I ask if you will instruct that the slaves referred to be immediately restored their freedom?

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT BREWIN,
United Methodist Free Church Minister.

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* See "Africa No. 5 (1898)," No. 6.

No. 5.

Mr. J. Duckworth, M.P., to Mr. Chamberlain.—(*Communicated to Foreign Office, September 6.*)

Dear Sir, *Castlefield, Rochdale, September* 1, 1898.

I BEG to ask your kind attention to inclosed cutting * from "The Free Methodist," and to ask whether Her Majesty's Government are aware of the facts stated therein, and, if so, whether any steps have been taken to restore to freedom the persons referred to therein.

Had Parliament been sitting, I would have called on you at the Colonial Office to consult you on the matter. As it is not, I am obliged to trouble you with this letter, and shall be glad if you can give me such an answer as will relieve the distress and sorrow of the members of our Mission in East Africa.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JAMES DUCKWORTH,

M.P. for Middleton Division of South-East Lancashire.

(Per A. G. S.)

No. 6.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received October* 3.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, September* 5, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to state, with reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 27th July, that, in my opinion, there is no reason for any longer delaying the Notification in the Provinces of Seyyidieh and Tanaland of the views held by Her Majesty's Government with respect to Seyyid Khalifa's engagement that all children born after 1890 should be free.

The famine is now almost, and, by the time your Lordship receives this despatch, will, I hope, be completely over.

On receipt of a telegram from you authorizing me to do so, I shall accordingly issue the notice suggested in my despatch of the 13th June.

I do not think it would be necessary to issue any public Notification in the islands, as, the status of slavery having been done away with, the question here is merely one of compensation, as to which the Courts have received their instructions, and the only appeal from them is to the Sultan or Sir Lloyd Mathews, who are ready, without any further Proclamation, to give effect to your Lordship's wishes in the matter. The case is somewhat different on the mainland, where the law of slavery is still in force, and where the Judiciary is at once more independent of the Executive Government and more disposed to enforce what appears to it the strictly legal view of public questions. It would in the islands, I think, be better to let the Courts enforce your Lordship's decision quietly in each case as it arose than to disturb the Arabs by a fresh General Proclamation about slavery, which they might misunderstand as perhaps heralding a fresh departure in our policy on this subject, and which might, therefore, create, without adequate necessity, a feeling of uncertainty and unrest.

As regards Article 4 of Seyyid Ali's Decree, to which your Lordship refers in your despatch under reply, that Article has always been regularly enforced, both here and on the mainland, and a glance at the statistics respecting slavery which accompanied my last General Report on the East Africa Protectorate† will enable your Lordship to see how large a number of manumissions in the Provinces of Seyyidieh and Tanaland are the result of the death of childless slave-owners.

Mr. Craufurd does not state positively in the Report which led to this correspondence that the heirs among whom the slaves who formed the subject of it were distributed were the children of the former owner; but, knowing how strict our Courts are in applying this provision, I have myself no doubt that they were. I have, however, sent him a copy of your Lordship's despatch. I need scarcely add that no compensation is ever given here for slaves held contrary to Seyyid Ali's Decree, and that every claim is carefully scrutinized in its relation to that instrument.

I have discussed with Sir Lloyd Mathews the question which your Lordship has done me the honour to put to me in the concluding paragraph of your despatch. We think it

* Not printed.

† See "Africa No. 3 (1899)," pp. 22–21.

would be quite feasible to establish an institution at Zanzibar, or in its immediate vicinity (which would be more suitable than the mainland), unsectarian in character, and under the supervision of Government, in which orphan freed children should receive instruction in trades, and be maintained till they were able to support themselves. If a shamba were bought in connection with it, on which the boys should be made to work as rural labourers, the initial cost of starting the institution would be about 1,000*l.*, and its maintenance, including the salary of a European Superintendent, would probably cost about that sum a-year. For the present, however, I have suggested to Sir Lloyd that orphan freed children, both from the mainland and from the islands, for whom provision cannot otherwise be made should be sent to the Government shamba at Tundawa in Pemba, where they could be trained under the auspices of Mr. Lister, and he seems quite ready to fall in with this scheme in principle, though we have not yet settled all its details.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 7.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 10, 1898.

YOUR despatch of the 5th September.

Proposed notification may be issued for mainland when you think circumstances allow.

No. 8.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 10, 1898.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of letters* drawing attention to the case of a father, mother, and daughter who had for some years past been living at liberty at Ribe, but who are alleged to have recently been surrendered by the judicial authorities at Mombasa to their former owner.

I have to request you to inquire into the circumstances of this case and furnish me with a full report thereon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 9.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Foreign Office, Octobr* 22, 1898.

YOU will already have learned from my telegram of the 10th instant, which was sent after consideration of your despatch of the 5th ultimo, that, as soon as you were of opinion that circumstances permitted, you were authorized to issue a Notification in the Provinces of Seyyidieh and Tanaland, calling attention to Seyyid Khalifa's engagement that all children born after 1890 should be free.

I have now to inform you that I concur in the view expressed in your despatch that there is no occasion to issue any similar Notification so far as the islands are concerned.

I have read with interest your proposals to employ destitute freed children on the Government shamba at Tundawa, and I shall be glad to hear further from you on the subject.

You should report as to the number and character of the persons now employed there, as to the nature of their employment, and as to the measure of success that has so far attended the operation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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* Nos. 4 and 5.

No. 10.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received November* 15.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, October* 17, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioners in the Provinces of Seyyidieh and Tanaland instructing them to publish a Notification issued by me, on receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 10th instant, respecting the freedom of children born after 1890.

The substance of the despatch in question has also been communicated by me, together with a copy of the Notification, to the Acting Judicial Officer for the East Africa Protectorate.

I propose, unless your Lordship should send me further instructions, to confine myself for the present to the formal promulgation of the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of the law, and to its enforcement in any future cases that may arise; but as regards the past to leave the initiative to be taken by the parents or friends of the children concerned, who will thus, when they have obtained for them their retrospective emancipation, which the Courts will, of course, be bound to grant, be themselves responsible for their maintenance.

I have, therefore, addressed to Sir Lloyd Mathews the note of which I have the honour to inclose copy herewith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

*Sir A. Hardinge to Mr. Craufurd.**

Sir, *Zanzibar, October* 17, 1898.

YOU are aware that some uncertainty has for a long time prevailed as to whether the engagement entered into by Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd in 1889, a copy and translation of which is inclosed, that all children born in his dominions after January 1890 should be free, has any legal validity in the Zanzibar mainland territory, where no evidence exists of its ever having been promulgated as a Decree, and that the Courts have, in consequence, hitherto abstained from enforcing it.

The question was recently referred by me to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who has now informed me that Her Majesty's Government regard this engagement as having the force of law throughout the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and has instructed me, for the removal of all further doubts on the subject, to issue a formal Notification to that effect.

I have accordingly the honour to inclose herewith a Notification in English and Arabic, which has been issued by me in accordance with his Lordship's directions, and which you should †[publish in the usual manner at Mombasa and] communicate to the various collectors and assistant collectors in your province whose districts include any of the Sultan's mainland territories.

It will not, I think, be necessary for you, unless you receive further instructions from me on the subject, to make this Notification retrospective in the sense of calling up and emancipating of your own initiative all children who may be affected by it, and for many of whom we have no means of providing, but in the event of any application being made to you on behalf of such children, you should grant them letters of freedom, and in any future division of property in slaves, you should be careful to exclude from it, and to register as free, any children born since 1890.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

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* Also to Mr. Macdougall.

† To Mr. Craufurd only.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

Notification.

WHEREAS His late Highness Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd agreed on the 13th September, 1889, with Her Majesty's then Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, that all persons born in his dominions after the 1st January, 1890, should be free;

And whereas some doubt has arisen, owing to the non-publication of this Agreement in His Highness' mainland dominions, whether it is valid and operative in them;

It is hereby declared by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the East Africa Protectorate, under authority from Her Majesty's Government, that the said Agreement is valid and operative in the aforesaid mainland dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that no person born subsequent to the 1st January, 1890, can be legally claimed as a slave within them.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE,
Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General.

Zanzibar, October 17, 1898.

Certified to be a true copy:
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE,
Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General.

Zanzibar, October 17, 1898.

No. 11.

Mr. J. A. Pease to Foreign Office.—(Received December 13.)

My dear Brodrick, *Snow Hall, Gainford, Darlington, December* 13, 1898.

I HAVE been asked by the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Society of Friends to support their request for an interview with you.

You will see by the inclosed letter, which I have been asked to hand you, that the interview is sought so as to enable your attention to be drawn to certain points in connection with the slave population in the Zanzibar Protectorate.

It is our desire to eliminate all party feeling from questions connected with emancipation, and the deputation would only press for practical steps to be taken in the future.

The industrial mission they have established in Pemba gives them, I think, a *locus standi* for being heard, and I do hope you will see your way to name a day before Parliament meets to receive a deputation.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) JOSEPH A. PEASE.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Mr. E. W. Brooks to Foreign Office.

Sir, *Duvals, Grays, Essex, December* 11, 1898.

THE Anti-Slavery Committee of the Society of Friends, having charge of the Society's Industrial Mission in Pemba, being thereby brought into regular communication with the islands, are much disappointed at the slow progress of the emancipation, and respectfully request the favour of an interview in order that they and others interested in the anti-slavery cause may lay before you their views on the present situation, and their desires for the future.

They wish to point out—

1. The exceeding slowness of progress of the emancipation;
2. The apparent causes of the slow progress; and
3. To suggest a practical means of accelerating the changes.

They would desire to impress upon you how the anti-slavery sentiment of this country continues to be offended, and the slave disappointed of his promised freedom.

They desire also to ask that freedom should be extended to women and to men equally, and to the mainland as well as to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

They wish that an early date should be fixed beyond which no compensation should be granted to the slave-owners, and in order that the poverty of the Zanzibar Government should not be an obstacle to the early conclusion of the change, they would be glad to see the needed financial assistance rendered by this country.

The Committee desires to be allowed to enter into more details under these heads, and ask that they and others who agree with their views may have a personal interview.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. W. BROOKS,
Honorary Secretary to the Committee.

No. 12.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 23, 1898, 1 P.M.

TELEGRAPH number of slaves emancipated up to the 31st December, giving numbers in each quarter of 1898.

No. 13.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 28, 1898, 6·15 P.M.

SURRENDER of slaves.

Please send Report asked for in my despatch of 10th October.

No. 14.

Foreign Office to Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 29, 1898.

I HAVE laid before the Marquess of Salisbury your letter of the 17th instant, and I am directed by his Lordship to inform you that Mr. Brodrick will receive a deputation of the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Society of Friends on the 13th proximo, on questions of East African slavery. His Lordship would suggest that a deputation from your Society might attend at the same time, and, if you concur in the suggestion, you will no doubt place yourself in communication with the Society of Friends on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 15.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received January 2, 1899, 2 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Zanzibar, January* 2, 1899, 1·15 P.M.

YOUR telegram of the 28th December, 1898.

Magistrate who dealt with case has been transferred to Kikuyu, and his report on it has not yet reached me. I understand, however, from local inquiries that return of slaves was prearranged between their master and themselves as they were starving at Ribe, where famine prevailed and Mission had no relief funds.

No. 16.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received January 7, 1·20 P.M.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Zanzibar, January 7, 1899, 12·20 P.M.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram of the 23rd December, 1898.

Number of slaves freed by Courts in each quarter of last year is following:—

March quarter	90
June quarter	522
September quarter	630
December quarter	558
Total	1,800

Children freed without compensation under Khalifa's engagement during year, 230; slaves freed by owners in Registrar's Office, 765—of these 760 freed in Zanzibar and 5 only in Pemba, in all 2,735, registered as free, but Government estimate that about 1,000 more have contracted as free labourers outside Courts; applications of slaves for registration as freemen are diminishing, as masters in both islands are paying wages of free labourers to their men whether formally freed or not.

No. 17.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, January 9, 1899, 7 P.M.*

YOUR telegram of the 7th instant.

State what number of slaves freed last year were women. Also in how many cases compensation was refused by Courts where slaves were decided to have been "illegally held."

No. 18.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received January 11.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Zanzibar, January 11, 1899.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram of the 9th instant.

Number of women exclusive of children freed, 1,364; of whom 937 freed by Courts, and 427 by owners. Out of Court, compensation refused in 405 cases; out of total number freed illegal tenure hard to prove in majority of cases. Most applicants so far old inhabitants or slaves born in island.

No. 19.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, February 11, 1899, midnight.*

MAINLAND slavery.

Her Majesty's Government have decided: (*a*) That no British official shall hand back slaves; (*b*) that Native Courts will not be deprived of any powers they exercised before the Proclamation of 1890, but in every case the master will be compelled to prove clearly that the slave has been, and is, legally owned.

Instruct officers accordingly.

No. 20.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, March* 1, 1899.

YOUR telegram of 2nd January.

Your report on surrender of slaves asked for in my despatch of 10th October, and by telegram of 28th December, not yet received. By what mail was it forwarded?

No. 21.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received March* 18.)

My Lord, *Mombasa, February* 4, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 10th October, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner at Mombasa on the subject of the restitution to their owner by the Mombasa District Court of three slaves belonging to the Free Methodist Mission station at Ribe. I regret the delay in the transmission of this Report, which is solely due to the transfer of Mr. Lloyd, the Magistrate who tried the case, and who was asked to send particulars respecting it, from the Mombasa to the Kenia district.

Your Lordship will observe that in this instance the Court carried out to the letter the views expressed by the Law Officers of the Crown, as conveyed to me in your despatch of the 15th December, 1897,* as to the manner in which slave cases should be dealt with. The Law Officers held that where the facts established slavery the Courts must give judgment accordingly, but that the practice of employing the police to search for and recapture fugitive slaves should be abandoned, as it could not be shown to be an obligation legally incumbent upon us. In this case the legal ownership of the slaves was not contested, and the master merely asked for and obtained a legal decision to that effect; but no force was used to give effect to that decision; the three slaves in fact made no objection to return to their master's house. I understand, indeed, that they were desirous of doing so in order to get food, as the famine was at that time severe in Ribe, and that the master's bringing the matter into Court was due to his wish to get a formal declaration of his legal right to their services, in return for the support which he afforded them. Mr. Craufurd tells me that he has heard from a native missionary, who is in Government employ, that these slaves have now left their master again, the two women having gone back to Ribe since rain has fallen and there is a prospect of food being again procurable there, whilst the man has joined a caravan proceeding to Uganda. I have not myself thought it necessary to verify this statement, as I was anxious to send in this Report without further delay, but if true, it would show that the restrictions imposed on their liberty by their master were not severe. Slaves, in fact, in this country do much as they please, to an extent which no one not actually acquainted with local conditions probably realizes, and the tenacious attachment of the Mahommedan population to the institution of domestic slavery often appears to me to rest rather on sentimental and religious considerations, or on an indolent dislike for, and distrust of, new customs, than on any great material advantage accruing to the slave-owner from his very limited rights and powers over his slaves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 21.

Sub-Commissioner Craufurd to Sir A. Hardinge.

(Extract.) *Mombasa, February* 3, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to return herewith the original despatch, dated the 10th October, 1898, from the Marquess of Salisbury to yourself with its inclosures respecting the Ribe slave case.

I also send papers, together with Mr. Lloyd's Report called for under your instructions.

* See "Africa No. 6 (1898)," No. 17.

On perusal of these it will be seen that the part taken by the Assistant District Officer was in no way inconsistent with his duty as a Magistrate under "The Native Court Regulations, 1897," within the Mahommedan coast region, in which circumstances he was required to give a judgment, guided by, and in accordance with, the general principles of the law of Islam.

I am inclined to believe, in consequence of Mr. Hollis' letter to me of the 5th December, that the slaves were at the time of their restitution, owing to dearness of food, not only willing, but anxious, to return to their master, and that the formal claim before the District Court was made with a view to obtain recognition of the master's reacquisition of his long lost property against the counter-claims of the Methodist missionary.

I recollect subsequently speaking to you upon the subject, and saying that in all probability the people had, by that time, run back to Ribe, and that no Government official would take any active steps to prevent them doing so.

There is, as you are well aware, a good deal of steady, unostentatious anti-slavery work done by the officers of this Protectorate; and not only in the Courts of First Instance, but in those of Appeal, have a considerable number of slaves obtained their freedom. In this connection I would refer to the Rev. Mr. F. Burt, Church Missionary Society, now in England, as a witness of the readiness of the Courts to grant freedom when such can be given without an actual violation of the law.

Inclosure 2 in No. 21.

Judgment in the Ribe Slave Case.

SALEH-BIN-HUSSEIN claims his three lawful slaves, Kazibeni, Kombo, Mama Kombo, who have been living at Ribe for the last ten years. The slaves have no plea wherewith to claim their freedom, and as Ribe is within the Sultan's dominions, I am of opinion that they have always been in slavery, and as they all declare that they are the lawful property of the claimant, Court orders them to return to their master.

(Signed) EDWARD LLOYD,
Assistant District Officer.

Mombasa, June 6, 1898.

Inclosure 3 in No. 21.

Sub-Commissioner Craufurd to Mr. Howe.

Dear Mr. Howe, *Mombasa, June* 21, 1898.

MR. LLOYD has shown me your last letter concerning the people from your Mission station. He tells me that all the three persons, Kazibeni, Kombo, and Mama Kombo, said in his presence that they were the lawful slaves of Saleh-bin-Hussein, and said that they knew that it was their duty to return to their master, but that they preferred to live at Ribe. The master then asked that the law should be pronounced, and Mr. Lloyd said that they, having acknowledged that the man was their lawful master, ought to accompany him. This they did, and they are now, I understand, living in his house.

Mr. Lloyd suggested, before giving the above deliverance, that some arrangement for the purchase of their freedom should be come to, but the slaves made no answer, and the master refused to accept the proposal.

The master now wishes to have the matter put into legal form, and has taken out a summons for his slaves, so that he may have his lawful possession declared beyond doubt.

The case is before the Provincial Court, which will adjourn to a convenient date to give you an opportunity of appearing in person, or by deputy, if you wish to do so. Kindly let me have your answer.

I write you at this length in order to convince vou that the officers of this Administration have no wish to act in an unfair manner, as your letters would imply, but that they have to carry out the law current in these dominions, even when it entails upon them the disagreeable duty of pronouncing the legality of a state of slavery between the Sultan's subjects.

The remedy for your grievance is an alteration of the law, but that is beyond the powers of the Judicial and Executive officers.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) C. H. CRAUFURD.

Inclosure 4 in No. 21.

Mr. Hollis to Sub-Commissioner Craufurd.

Sir, *Mombasa, December* 5, 1898.

WITH reference to the case of persons from Ribe being restored to slavery, I have the honour to make the following report on the general condition of runaway slaves harboured by the Mission in the Province of Seyyidieh :—

Owing to the famine which has lately ravaged the country large numbers of natives, finding themselves confronted by the pangs of hunger, have been obliged to leave their homes and seek employment in Mombasa and elsewhere. Amongst these were many of the former runaway slaves who had gone to the various stations of the Church Missionary Society and of the United Free Methodist, and who, in return for the protection offered them by the missionaries, had become Christian proselytes. I have no doubt that many of the latter often remembered the days when, in good times or bad, they were sure of the help and support of their masters, and regretted the false step they had taken in running away and placing themselves in charge of men who, in the days of famine, were unable to give them the wherewithal to obtain the bare necessities of life. Many of these persons, therefore, no doubt went back to their former masters, being only too glad to do the little work that was demanded of them in return for their food and clothing.

The congregations in the Mission churches, which a year ago were filled to overflowing and which at the present time are almost empty, are ample proof of this.

Whilst the Church Missionary Society have done their utmost to relieve the wants of the starving natives in their parishes, the United Free Methodists do not seem to have had the same almost unlimited supply of money at their disposal, and it has been reported to me that sundry persons have died of starvation near Ribe. I can, however, only vouch for one case. This is of a woman who, running away from her master at Takaungu some years ago settled at Ribe, but who, it would seem, was unknown to the missionary in charge. One day she presented herself to the Rev. Mr. Howe, as the latter was going to church. Mr. Howe informed me that he told the woman to await his return, but the poor creature affirmed with a dying breath that she was ordered to go away. She went to the Government station at Rabai, and although I provided for her wants, she died two days later, of sheer exhaustion and starvation. On my writing to Mr. Howe that the woman was *in extremis*, he replied that, "if I cared to send her to Ribe he would have her attended to.

Can one, then, wonder, when, in such times of privation, persons gladly return to their former masters, and undergo the so-called horrors of a nominal slavery rather than those of actual starvation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. C. HOLLIS, *Assistant Collector,*
In Charge of Mombasa Sub-District.

Inclosure 5 in No. 21.

Sub-Commissioner Craufurd to Mr. Lloyd.

Sir, *Mombasa, December* 7, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of an extract from a missionary newspaper respecting a case tried by yourself when Acting Judge of the District Court of Mombasa, concerning which the losing parties and their friends in the Methodist Mission did not see their way to appeal against to me.

Lord Salisbury has requested Sir Arthur Hardinge to inquire into the circumstances of this case and forward a full report thereon, and this the Commissioner has instructed me to do.

I will, therefore, be obliged for as full a report from yourself as you can give me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. H. CRAUFURD.

Inclosure 6 in No. 21.

Mr. Lloyd to Sub-Commissioner Craufurd.

Sir, *Kikuyu, December* 29, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch of the 7th instant, and to forward the following statement for your information, concerning the Waswahili from Ribe being returned to their master at Mombasa; the facts are as follows: Three Waswahili, a man and two women, came into my office at Mombasa with a letter from Mr. Howe, Methodist missionary at Ribe, to Mr. Craufurd, reporting that they were being detained in Mombasa by their master, and would he do what he could for them in the matter. Mr. Craufurd had written across the letter a note, ordering me to inquire into the matter and to report to him. I knew nothing whatever of the people until I saw them coming into the office with the letter. I then inquired carefully into the matter, and found that they all three willingly admitted that they were the lawful slaves of their master, and that they knew it was their duty to return to him; this they all admitted without the smallest hesitation. I then, for some time, questioned them as to whether they had any fault whatever to find in their master's treatment of them, on which they might claim their freedom, but they failed to find any complaint whatever against him, and, further, seemed quite willing to return to him. I then reported the matter to Mr. Craufurd, who ordered me to tell them that it was their duty to return to their master if they had no complaint to make against his behaviour, which I did, and having no such complaint to make they then followed their master without any apparent dislike. They were given every opportunity to bring an action against their master in order to obtain their freedom, but they were unwilling to do so, having no grounds to take such measures. Mr. Howe did not come himself to Mombasa with them, but afterwards laid a complaint in very strong language against the people returning to their master. Later, when he came down to Mombasa, Mr. Craufurd told him, in my presence, that he hoped that if he (Mr. Howe) thought there had in any way whatsoever been any miscarriage of justice, that he would take a legal action on their behalf; this Mr. Howe declined to do, and I heard nothing further of the matter until a few days ago, when I was informed of the notice in the missionary paper.

Mr. Howe's chief grievance seems to have been that he had heard that two of the people had been sent for from Mombasa, but this I knew nothing about till reported by Mr. Howe later; the first time I knew anything about them was when they arrived in my office with Mr. Craufurd's note. I wish to point out that it was merely an inquiry instituted at Mr. Howe's request, and held by me at Mr. Craufurd's orders, with the result that Mr. Craufurd expressed the opinion through me that it was the duty of the three slaves to return to their master.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD LLOYD,
Assistant District Officer, Keni.

No. 22.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received March 18.)

(Extract.) *Mombasa, February* 6, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to report that numerous applications have been made to me, as well as to the Judicial Officer in the Province of Tanaland, for restitution of property, chiefly slaves, wrongfully confiscated by the local authorities, or for pecuniary compensation for such wrongful confiscation.

I have replied that, once a slave has been emancipated and declared free, even illegally, or in consequence of false evidence, or under a misapprehension, it would not be possible for me to replace him in a state of slavery; but that I was prepared to consider each case on its merits, with a view to pecuniary compensation.

In the following three cases I considered the owners entitled to compensation:—

1. *Bwana Kitini, of Patta.*—This man is a member of the old Royal Family of Patta and Witu; and when Admiral Fremantle attacked Sultan Fumo Bakari, he and all his slaves fled with that Prince to Jongeni. He, however, shortly afterwards escaped back alone to Lamu, made his submission to Her Majesty's Government, and rendered useful services in assisting in the re-establishment of order. In consequence,

he received from my predecessor, Sir Charles Euan-Smith, a written promise, which he showed me, to the effect that his property should be excepted from the general confiscation which was to befall that of all the Witu rebels. His property consisted: (1) of slaves; (2) of guns. When Jongeni was taken, the Administrator, not having in his possession the letter of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, or, indeed, any knowledge of it, freed the slaves and seized the arms of Bwana Kitini, it having been decided by Her Majesty's Government to proclaim a general emancipation of slaves at Jongeni and Pumwani as a punishment to the people of those places for their murders and acts of rebellion. Bwana Kitini repeatedly protested against his slaves being included in this prescription; but, as the thing had already been done, there was no means of going back upon it, and Mr. Rogers did not feel himself authorized to pay him their value, or that of the guns which had been seized. At length he appealed to me, and produced Sir Charles Euan-Smith's letter, pleading that it was very hard that a loyal man, who had helped Her Majesty's Government, should lose his slaves like any rebel, notwithstanding the Consul-General's written guarantee, and I therefore decided that I had no alternative but to make good my predecessor's promise. I accordingly requested Mr. MacDougall to value the slaves as fairly as he could, and pay Bwana Kitini their equivalent in rupees. As regards the guns, it was impossible to identify them, and he said that if the value of the slaves were paid him he would waive this part of his claim.

2. The second case which came before me was that of Omar-bin-Mataka, late Chief of Siu, and of his son, Mahomed-bin-Omar. These men were, about three years ago, deported by Captain Rogers from Siu, with my approval and that of your Lordship, for the use of seditious language, and all Omar Mataka's property was confiscated, including a considerable number of slaves and several sacks of corn and rice. It came to my knowledge afterwards that no regular trial had been held, and that, though Omar-bin-Mataka was very probably disaffected to an Administration which had deposed him from power, there was no evidence of any overt act of sedition on his part. The act which was imputed to him by the Wali of Siu was a refusal to collect and bring in certain guns in the possession of his family and retainers on the ground "that they had no guns at all, or they would be using them in fighting the Government." But the Wali, on being subjected to a closer examination, admitted to me that he had not heard Omar-bin-Mataka use this expression, but had been told by some one else, whom he could not specify, that some such words had escaped him All that Omar had said to himself was: "I am no longer Chief of Siu; you are in authority; collect my people's guns yourself."

It appeared to me that it was not consistent with British ideas of justice to inflict so sweeping a penalty as confiscation of goods for so trifling an offence and on such inadequate evidence, and I therefore cancelled the order of deportation made against Omar-bin-Mataka and his son, and permitted them to return to Siu. I at the same time pointed out to the Sub-Commissioner at Lamu that, although a person known to be disaffected might be deported without a formal trial from a place where his disaffection was likely to be dangerous, such a serious penalty as confiscation of goods should only be inflicted after a regular criminal conviction; and I, therefore, ordered the restoration to Omar-bin-Mataka of his house at Siu, and of the value, according to a fair valuation, of his confiscated slaves. I declined, however, to compensate him for the loss of his rice and grain, which was not seized by Government, but stolen from his house after he left it by his slaves, as he ought to have placed a wakeel in charge; or to indemnify him for wrongful banishment, as I held that it was within our rights as an Administration to remove him from Siu if we had reason to believe him to be disaffected and dangerous to Government.

3. The third case was that of a bedridden woman named Fatma-bint-Fumo, the widow of a poor Bajoon fisherman, whose only means of subsistence was the labour of six slaves, hired out by her to various owners of plantations at Mkunumbi. It appears that the Headman of these slaves, being anxious to retain all the money which they earned, conspired with a local village Headman near Mkunumbi to make a sworn declaration that they had been illegally acquired since the prohibition in Witu of the sale of slaves, and on this evidence Mr. Rogers granted them papers of freedom. These two men afterwards publicly stated, and on being examined before Mr. MacDougall admitted, that they had purjured themselves, and that the slaves were really legally owned by their mistress. I therefore, on the application of a relative of Fatma-bint-Fumo, who petitioned me for their restoration to her, gave directions that their value in rupees should be paid to her. I also suggested to

Mr. MacDougall that the two Headmen should be heavily fined for the perjury, and the proceeds of the fine employed to recoup the Government for the compensation money paid to the plaintiff.

4. A fourth case which came before me was that of a woman named Mwana Esha, of Lamu, who had inherited certain slaves from her deceased father. The brother of the deceased went to her and asked her to divide these slaves or the produce of their labour with himself, threatening that unless she did so he would swear that they had been verbally made "muddabir" by their late owner, a threat which, as she refused his proposal, he eventually carried out, the result being that the slaves were declared free by the Lamu Provincial Court. Mwana Esha contended that this emancipation was invalid, as the Mahommedan law and religion required at least two witnesses to establish verbal "Tadbir." In this case, as the question hinged upon a point of law, I contented myself with advising the complainant to appeal to the Chief Native Court; and the Judicial Officer having, in conjunction with two Mahommedan Assessors, ruled that two respectable witnesses were requisite to prove verbal "Tadbir," and that only one had been produced, reversed the decision of the Lower Court, and awarded the appellant the pecuniary value of the slaves.

Several cases were brought before me by persons whose slaves had run away from them and joined the Witu outlaws, and who claimed that, as they themselves had remained loyal and stayed in their homes, their slaves should not have been freed. In these cases I refused to entertain the idea of compensation, pointing out that they should have taken steps to prevent their slaves from running away to Witu, or should have put forward claims to their ownership at the time of the general confiscation of all slaves found with the Witu rebels.

Great suffering and hardship, especially to old or infirm persons and to minors, is often caused by the careless emancipation of legal slaves, who in this country are still often their only property, and I have urged on Mr. Rogers the importance of making absolutely certain of illegal ownership before actually issuing papers of freedom, as if owners claim and get damages for wrongful confiscation upon appeal, much unnecessary expense may be incurred by us. I have the honour to inclose herewith the Acting Sub-Commissioner's despatch, giving the actual sums paid in all these cases.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Mr. MacDougall to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Lamu, December* 29, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that in accordance with your instructions to compensate various persons resident in Lamu and Patta, for slaves belonging to them, who had obtained papers of freedom inadvertently by the local Administration—

Bwana Kitini of Patta was paid 350 rupees as compensation for five slaves, at an average rate of 70 rupees each, which rate was fixed by the Livali and the Kathi, and which is considered most reasonable in accordance with local conditions.

Mohamed-bin-Omari Mataka was paid 1,400 rupees compensation for twenty slaves at the same average rate of 70 rupees each, and a compensation of 105 rupees for three aged slaves, at an average rate of 35 rupees each.

The same person applied for compensation for another slave, who obtained his freedom on the score of his having been at Jongeni. I, however, declined to entertain such an application, on the ground that the slave in question was not confiscated, that he was merely treated in common with others, who had been found to have been actively assisting persons who had rebelled against Her Majesty's Government.

With regard to various other claims made by Mohamed-bin-Omari, such as for a stone house, grain, &c.: so far as I understand, the house referred to had been sold by public auction in satisfaction of a small claim against Omari-bin-Mataka, the balance of the proceeds had been duly refunded to the defendant; as regards the grain, I have been informed by the Wali of Siu that it was either appropriated by the slaves themselves or left to decay in the fields.

With regard to Mwana Esha's claim for compensation for twelve slaves belonging to her, who obtained letters of freedom contrary to law, the Acting Judicial Officer of the Chief Native Court, in going through the case when at Lamu, found that a single witness of verbal "Tadbir" was illegal by "Sheria," and therefore ordered that the

appellant be paid compensation for only six slaves, to which she was entitled by "Sheria;" the sum of 420 rupees was therefore paid to her, being an average of 70 rupees per slave. With reference to the claim of Fatima-binti-Bwana Fumo, you are already aware that it had been settled anterior to your departure from Lamu for 300 rupees, and this amount will be recovered from the witnesses who gave false evidence before the Court, namely, Banonge and Hamis, the Headmen of the said slaves.

As desired, I have been especially careful in awarding compensation only for slaves inadvertently freed in the Zanzibar dominions, who had been born anterior to the Proclamation of His Highness Saïd Khalifa, dated the 1st January, 1890.

I have, &c.

(Signed) K. MACDOUGALL,
Her Majesty's Acting Sub-Commissioner.

No. 23.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received March* 18.)

(Extract.) *Mombasa, February* 9, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a letter which the Rev. H. K. Binns, of the Church Missionary Society, has asked, on behalf of Bishop Tucker, may be published as an answer to certain despatches of my own in "Africa, No. 6, 1898," respecting the attitude of the missionaries in this Protectorate towards the question of Mahommedan domestic slavery, more especially with reference to the reception by the Missions of fugitive slaves.

I have at the same time the honour to transmit a copy of my reply to this letter, and to express a hope that it may be given equal publicity with the latter should your Lordship see fit to accede to Mr. Binns' request.

Inclosure 1 in No. 23.

The Rev. H. Binns to Sir A. Hardinge.

Dear Sir Arthur Hardinge, *Freretown, Mombasa, December* 7, 1898.

BISHOP TUCKER has called my attention to a letter of yours in Blue Book, "Africa, No. 6, 1898," which is dated Zanzibar, the 5th July, 1897, especially with regard to your remarks on the action of the missionaries in these parts in the matter of runaway slaves.

I may say at the outset that the missionaries of the Society have never encouraged "slaves to leave their masters and settle on Mission lands by better terms than any native land-owner could afford to offer them." The missionaries have never been in a position to make terms with runaway slaves, neither have they had any land offered them.

The only place where any considerable amount of land belongs to the Society is at Freretown, where this trouble has not arisen. At Rabai only a small piece of land, that originally granted by the Rabai Elders to the Mission, together with a few small patches purchased for the occupation of African cultivators who were brought from a Government farm in India, has been claimed by the Mission.

The missionaries, myself included, have done their utmost to prevent these people from coming to the Mission stations, and have sent hundreds away. On the other hand, it is clear that during the years the Rev. N. H. Jones was in charge, large numbers were allowed to settle in the immediate neighbourhood, and they cultivated waste lands between Kisulutini and the Duruma country, and these became assimilated amongst the adherents of the Mission. Over the land thus cultivated the authorities of the Mission had absolutely no control.

A slave coming from any of the neighbouring coast towns was never knowingly allowed to settle near the Mission premises in my time; those who came from Giryama were allowed to remain, as Sir John Kirk told us slavery amongst the Wanyika was not recognized by any Treaty.

Many undoubtedly came under false pretences, and it was impossible for the missionaries to find out their antecedents.

You infer that the Missionary Societies have used their capital and influence in unfair competition. I beg to say, with regard to the Church Missionary Society, it has no capital—its funds consist entirely of voluntary contributions; if this income is what you mean, allow me to say that not one single picé of this capital has ever been used in the way you infer, neither is it available for such purposes.

You will find that the majority of children we have ever had in our schools at Rabai are the children of Wanyika. I cannot call to mind a single family of children of coast slaves.

It is quite true that all who came were expected to conform to certain rules and send their children to school, but members of these were not slaves at all.

You write: "The Imperial British East Africa Company checked it, not without many unpleasant disputes, by compelling the Missions to restore slaves who were claimed by their masters." I beg to say that the Mission never has been, never could be, compelled to restore (that is, to be the active instrument in restoring) slaves who were claimed by their masters. All the Imperial British East Africa Company did was to send up an askari or two with the owners of the slave claimed to bring him down if found; this liberty has never been denied to any one. Before the advent of the Company, the slave-owners were at liberty to come to take their slaves if they wished. Very few, certainly, availed themselves of the liberty, but some did; they were mostly afraid, as they were afraid to go to Makongeni and other runaway-slave towns, as the slaves stand by one another, not that they would be sheltered by the missionary. I have myself seen some slaves taken away, and I could not legally prevent it, though I should like to have done so; sometimes I have had to protect the masters.

You infer, also, that the rebellion of 1895–96 was in some way connected with the runaway-slave question. I believe it arose solely out of a dispute as to the Governorship of Takaungu. Previously Mbarak had been on friendly terms with us. Missionaries had entertained him and his followers at Rabai on several occasions and met him in other places. His rebellion at this time was against Europeans generally, and I think I may safely say that the Government had nowhere such loyal adherents as on the Mission stations, and we were applied to for guides and other helpers who could be trusted, and officers, both naval and military, have spoken in high terms of their faithfulness.

The missionaries have not been, in any large sense, employers of labour; the populations of our stations have been free to serve under whatever master they might choose, and have so served as porters, askaris, &c., for Government and others, or to return to their masters, as many did.

Many lazy vagabond slaves no doubt there are, as there are many free men who deserve similar epithets; these characters have not found chartered sanctuaries on the Mission lands; on the contrary, such slaves have always been expelled from lands over which the Mission had any control.

As to slaves running away, the matter is entirely in the hands of the Government, which has its officers all over the country; but as slaves did not commence running away from their masters on the advent of the missionaries (thousands living in the forests long previously), it is not likely that they will cease to run away now, and they must go somewhere

The action of Her Majesty's Government in capturing and liberating slaves upon high seas (there is no record of slaves running away to the Missions previous to this, though they ran away to go elsewhere) placed every white man in the country in a false position; he was looked upon as a friend of the slave, and, to a certain extent, was bound to pose as such, and yet he could do little to help them in a lawful way, hence our hands have been, to a certain extent, forced, and as our sympathies have always been with the slaves, it is not difficult to see how this matter of runaway slaves reached such large proportions and become such a complex question—it can only find its solution in the total abolition of slavery.

It is an easy matter for you and the slave owners to lay all these troubles at the missionaries' door, but what about the slaves who run away to go elsewhere, what about the hundreds who joined Mbarak, or those at Makongeni, and other similar places, or those who go up as porters and never return to their masters, and who eventually reach the towns in the German territory? I think, in common justice, you ought to say that the slave will run away whether the missionary receives him or not, and has been doing so for generations; and allow me to add my conviction, apart from the legal question, that it is better that the slave should go to the Mission than elsewhere; he is thereby helped to be a better man, as can be proved by hundreds of cases, and therefore a more useful member of society.

May I ask you to give this letter equal publicity with that of yours to which I have referred.

I am sending copies to the Bishops and to the head-quarters of the Society.

I beg, &c.

(Signed) H. K. BINNS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 23.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Rev. H. Binns.

Dear Mr. Binns, *Mombasa, February* 9, 1899.

I HAVE to apologize for my long delay in replying to your letter of the 7th December about the slavery question, but the last month of the old year and the first of the new year are specially busy times, as the Estimates both for the East Africa and Zanzibar Protectorates have to be prepared, and, in the present instance, I have had a good deal of work, necessitating my going to Lamu, in connection with the plague cases on board the "Bhundara."

Let me try to deal one by one with the points you raise in your letter:—

1. You say that the missionaries, yourself included, have done their utmost to prevent Watoro from coming to the Mission stations. I have nothing to say against yourself personally. You have had the manliness and moral courage to express openly and in print opinions on this question of domestic slavery which were at variance with popular prejudices and the well-known views of your Bishop, and which some missionaries who, as I know, share them in private, would perhaps have shrunk from avowing before the world; and I feel entire confidence in your individual justice and impartiality as between masters and slaves, being convinced that your sympathy for the natives of East Africa is not confined to any one race or class. I may add that I have had no complaints from natives about Freretown during the time you have been in charge there, though, according to the Blue Books, that station, under earlier incumbents, was much what Rabai is now.

There can, however, be no doubt that Rabai, at any rate, and to a somewhat lesser extent Ribe and Mazeras, were, when the Company first assumed the Government, regular recognized asylums for Watoro, and that the attitude of the missionaries in charge there was a source of serious danger. Whether Mr. Jones was solely responsible, as you seem to think, I do not know, but he was the regular Church Missionary Society native clergyman, and the Mission cannot divest itself of all responsibility for his acts. The strongest charges made against the Missions are to be found, not in any letters of mine, but in the writings of Major Lugard, who was employed by the Company to deal specially with this question, and in the official Reports of the then Consul-General, Colonel Sir Charles Euan-Smith, and of the Administrator, Mr. George Mackenzie. These gentlemen are all three zealous Abolitionists, and cannot be suspected of any Arab or pro-slavery bias. I will only quote a few extracts from Major Lugard, Colonel Euan-Smith, and Mr. Mackenzie. Such extracts might easily be multiplied, but these few will, I think, be sufficient to show that your statement that the Missions never encouraged slaves to find refuge at Rabai and other stations cannot, to say the least of it, be accepted without qualification.

Major Lugard writes as follows ("Rise of our East African Empire," vol. I, p. 222):—

"Many years ago, in the earlier days of the Church Missionary Society's advent in Africa, the Mission stations had become refuges for runaway slaves. I have already explained (p. 170) that the slave was and is still the legal property of his master, and that from the point of view of the Arab to steal a slave or harbour him if he runs away (which is practically the same thing) is identical with the theft of a horse or ox in England. The Arab saw his slaves appropriated by the missionaries. By them they were given work to do, made to obey rules, and not allowed to run away. He could not see no difference in their status. 'I buy my slaves with my own hard cash, or I expose my life and fight for them,' he bitterly said, 'and then you missionaries steal them from me, and make them your own slaves without purchase.' For a time the storm gathered but did no burst. At length the Arabs could stand it no longer; they declared their intention of attacking the Mission stations and recapturing their legal property. Sir John Kirk told the Missions that if the owners came with the Sultan's officials he could not resist the law of the land; but he restrained the Arabs for forty-eight hours, and the missionaries gave a distinct pledge that they would never again harbour slaves. The fugitives were warned to escape,

and most of them joined an outlaw Arab Chief named Mbarak, while a few returned to their masters, and the Missions were saved. Several years passed by; the Missions had forgotten their pledges. By carelessness or by a thoughtless and misdirected zeal they again allowed slaves to take refuge in their stations. The Arabs behaved with much forbearance, and took no measures of reprisal."

Again (p. 297 of the same work) :—

"I pointed out to Bishop Tucker that long ago the Church Missionary Society had given a pledge to Sir John Kirk when he extricated them from the reprisals threatened by the Arabs that they would never again harbour runaway slaves. This pledge had not been kept, and its violation had led to the difficulty in 1888, when for the second time they had been extricated by the free ransom of the slaves on the initiative of the Company. They then again repeated their pledge for the future. I stated that already (early in 1890) this promise had again been broken. This was denied. I went to Rabai, and there, in the presence of Mr. Fitch, the resident missionary, who helped me in every way, and was not in any way responsible in the matter, since he had only recently taken charge of the station, I enrolled the names of 154 fugitives."

I add two extracts from despatches addressed to Her Majesty's Government by my predecessor (Sir Charles Euan-Smith), and published in the Parliamentary Blue Book "No. 10, Africa, 1889."

Writing on the 11th January, 1889, Sir Charles says :—

"I would venture to call your Lordship's special attention to the Circular letter addressed by Mr. Mackenzie, on behalf of the Company, to the various Mission stations, with regard to the future harbouring of runaway slaves. With the terms of that Circular I would express my general concurrence. The measure proposed in this letter by Mr. Mackenzie, that, at the Mission stations themselves, runaway slaves seeking refuge should be arrested and sent to the Wali in order that their cases may be inquired into, may, indeed, at first sight appear harsh and unusual; but I am convinced that by such measures alone can the Arabs be led to believe that the missionaries are in earnest in their declaration that they do not wish and do not seek to provide a refuge for fugitive slaves in their Mission stations. Some of the Missions seem to have implied that Mr. Mackenzie wished them to countenance the Slave Trade by asking them to send back runaway slaves, but this implication is as unjust as it is ungenerous. Had it not been for the recent action that has been taken on behalf of the runaway slaves, I believe that within a short time the Mission stations would have become untenable, and I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that, had not the late exhaustive inquiry been determinedly pressed to a successful conclusion, so great was the hatred, so bitter was the sense of injury felt by the Arabs towards the Church Missionary stations at Freretown and Rabai on account of the runaway slaves, that these two stations would inevitably have become the object before many months were over of an open and violent attack directed solely against them.

"From such consequences they and possibly other neighbouring stations have been saved by the action of Mr. Mackenzie. It is surely not too much to expect that they should now work honestly and sincerely to consolidate the good that has begun. If, from a mistaken view of their duties towards humanity, the missionaries, however, continue to receive runaway slaves, all that has been done will have been labour lost. The old feeling of hatred and discontent will return among the Arabs, and the Missions themselves, sooner or later, will undoubtedly perish.

"The Church Missionary Society has made a good start with reference to the prevention of the reception of future runaway slaves; everything, however, depends upon the manner in which the missionaries, as a body, consistently and unfalteringly carry out the system of prevention.

"The matter is one of so great importance, not only as regards the missionaries themselves, but as affecting the future success of European enterprise in East Africa, that I trust your Lordship may see fit to bring it prominently to the notice of the various Missionary Societies concerned therein."

In March 18 of the same year, Sir Charles wrote as follows :—

"I have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter addressed by me to the missionaries of the various denominations who have established themselves in the neighbourhood of Mombasa, in which I endeavoured to impress upon them the necessity, in their own interests, of their endeavouring earnestly and loyally to put a stop to the practice which has hitherto existed of harbouring runaway slaves within the limits of their various stations.

"The only reply I have received to this letter has been a communication addressed to me by a Mr. Carthew, who is at present in charge of the United Free Methodist stations at Ribe and Jomvu.

"In the latter station, which is the one where Mr. Carthew personally resides, 130 runaway slaves were recently discovered by Mr. Mackenzie as having been harboured for some considerable time.

"Mr. Carthew's letter shows how completely he fails to appreciate the local conditions under which he has to conduct his important work. An open hostility to the Arabs and Swahilis on the part of the missionaries settled in their midst facilitates at the outset the failure of missionary enterprise.

"I greatly regret that the Missionary Societies at Mombasa, who in this matter show a wide divergence of action from the Universities' Mission, cannot be brought to see the importance of this question of harbouring runaway slaves. Mr. Mackenzie has officially reported to me, that notwithstanding all that has been recently done in order to clear up this vexed question, two slaves, fugitives from their master at Mombasa, had been quite lately found harboured at the Church Missionary station at Freretown. Mr. Mackenzie himself went over with the owners of these slaves, and with some difficulty arranged for their restitution. The incident is most unfortunate; it will serve to arouse again the deep-seated suspicions of the Arabs that the missionaries are their enemies, wishing to gain possession of their slaves at all costs.

"I have warned the Superintendent of the Church Missionary station at Freretown, and I have asked him to communicate the warning to the Heads of other Missions in the neighbourhood, that if the missionaries persist in maintaining this system, which has existed for so many years past, it will be impossible to answer either for their own personal safety, or, indeed, for the continuance of the Mission stations. The hostility that has been aroused during the last ten years by the action of the Freretown Mission has not been extinguished by the recent purchase of the freedom of the harboured slaves, and the Arabs specially believe that the missionaries would never have acted in the matter at all unless they had been compelled to do so. I greatly fear that, should a favourable opportunity arise, this hostility may still be destined to find active expression, unless, indeed, the missionaries adopt an entirely new course of procedure with regard to the fugitive slaves that seek refuge in their stations."

"I have, &c.
(Signed) "C. B. EUAN-SMITH."

The following is the Circular above referred to:—

"*Circular addressed by Colonel Euan-Smith to Missionaries in British Sphere.*

"Dear Sir,

"You are aware of the recent inquiry that has taken place at Mombasa regarding the reception of runaway slaves at the various Mission stations in that neighbourhood. The inquiry brought to light the very insignificant fact that over 1,400 runaway slaves were found to be harboured therein, of which the large majority, over 900, were discovered in the Church Missionary station at Rabai. Almost two-thirds of the entire body of fugitive slaves were slaves who had escaped from their Arab masters at Mombasa or other coast ports. To these facts, doubtless, is due in a great measure the marked hostility which the Mombasa Arabs have for so long past displayed towards missionary enterprise, a feeling which, however, it may now be hoped has been greatly conciliated by the wise, humane, and generous action of Mr. George Mackenzie, who, on behalf of the Imperial British East Africa Company, induced the Arab owners of these slaves by large money payment to confer upon them their freedom.

"It is evident to me that this action of Mr. Mackenzie has for a time disarmed the hostility with which the Arabs under a sense of unmerited wrong, have for some time past regarded all missionary enterprise in the neighbourhood of Mombasa, and it now rests with the missionaries themselves to take advantage of the present state of good feeling, and to make the Arabs believe that the policy initiated by Mr. Mackenzie will be faithfully and loyally carried out by themselves. It is to my mind of so great an importance that all just fears should be removed from the mind of the Arabs as to their runaway domestic slaves being received and welcomed and encouraged by the missionaries of the various denominations, that I have thought it advisable to address you on this subject.

"I would most earnestly request your co-operation on the three following points:—

"1. That no slaves are allowed to remain within the limits or under the protection

of your Mission unless each slave has either a paper of freedom or a paper of permission to reside within such limits.

"2. That a careful watch be kept, and if possible no runaway slaves be received in the native huts of the Mission except in case of severe and patent ill-treatment.

"3. That in case of any runaway slave being received within the settlement either on account of ill-treatment or through his having entered without the knowledge of the Mission authorities, he should at once be sent back to the Wali of Mombasa in order that his case may be inquired into in the presence of one of the Mission officials, and justice be done. In case of apparent injustice, an appeal will always lie to this Office.

I believe that if these measures are carried out loyally and humanely the Arab and Swahili slave owners will soon relinquish their present fears as to the *bona fides* of the missionaries, and that the domestic slaves themselves will, except in cases of real ill-treatment cease, to attempt to find an asylum within the Mission stations.

"I have, &c.
(Signed) "C. B. EUAN-SMITH."

Mr. George Mackenzie on the 15th January, 1889, wrote as follows to the Rev. Mr. Carthew:—

"Dear Sir,

"As I am reporting fully to Her Majesty's Consul-General the steps taken with regard to the runaway slaves found at your stations, I presume I am correct in informing him that, since you had timely notice of all the measures which I have adopted, the slaves produced when General Mathews and myself took a list of them early in November embraced all the runaways harboured throughout your entire stations, and that you have none under your protection now but those to whom papers have been issued by me.

"I have, on your behalf, given the most solemn and positive assurances to the Walis and people at the principal coast towns visited by me that for the future you had faithfully promised that on no account would you harbour any runaways. It is therefore necessary that measures should be taken so that this is rigorously enforced. While I am aware that you are not responsible for, and cannot prevent, the slaves running away from their masters, and that it is not incumbent upon you to arrest the same, still I feel satisfied that if, in the first few instances now occuring of runaway slaves entering your stations, you were to have them arrested and sent down to the Liwali here, it would have a very great effect on the minds of the people, and assure them that we were in earnest in our promises; I am confident it would be the most effective and simplest means of letting the runaways see that there is no use their attempting to enter your station, and only one or two examples would be necessary to show this. Did you do so, I feel sure we would all be saved much subsequent trouble.

"I am quite resolved to take any amount of trouble to check the persistent breaking of the law, which I consider the action of the past to have been; and as an inspection will probably shortly be made of the stations, I would earnestly urge you to insist upon all the slaves not holding papers to quit at once, while they have the opportunity of sheltering themselves elsewhere. I continue to receive constant complaints of slaves still being taken in at the Mission stations. In each case I have invited the complainant to proceed in person to the station, and there to ascertain from the officer in charge whether the slave is free or not.

"I trust to your giving orders that all the coast people visiting your stations for this purpose will be properly received and assisted in their search. Should it be otherwise, doubt will be thrown in the native mind which will be very prejudicial to your own and our interests.

"I remain, &c.
(Signed) "GEORGE S. MACKENZIE."

So much for my predecessors.

When I came to this country over four years ago the runaway slave question was temporarily dormant, as a consequence of the settlement effected by Mr. Mackenzie in 1889, and of the Circular above quoted of Sir Charles Euan-Smith. The right of the Company to compel the Missions—I will not say actively to restore, but what comes to the same thing—to acquiesce in the restoration to their masters by the Administration of runaway slaves who had fled to their stations was generally recognized, though Mr. Jenner had trouble on the subject with both Mr. Carthew and Mr. Ormerod. Then

came the Mazrui rebellion, during which the question continued to slumber for other reasons, so it was not till I came back from leave early in 1897 that I had any experience myself of the attitude of the Missions with regard to it. I had heard, of course, from others—such as Sir Lloyd Mathews, Mr. Pigott, Mr. Berkeley, &c.—that there had been trouble with them a few years previously, but I had not had so far any personal knowledge of the matter.

When I returned from leave, the people of several coast towns, such as Malindi, Takaungu, &c., complained to me that their slaves, many of whom had been unsettled by the war, were, and had been ever since the suppression of the rebellion, running away to Rabai and Ribe, where they were allowed to occupy Mission land. It so happened that, when in England, I had had an interview at the Foreign Office with Bishop Tucker in Mr. Curzon's presence, at which the Bishop complained of the old practice of sending askaris to take runaway slaves away by force. I therefore tried to settle the difficulty with which I found myself face to face in a pacific and conciliatory spirit. I went to Rabai myself and saw Mr. Jones (Mr. Smith was temporarily absent), and I sent Mr. Wilson to Rabai, Ribe, Mazeras, &c., to ascertain what number of slaves were there, and to endeavour to arrange some settlement which should, if possible, be fair and acceptable to masters, slaves, and missionaries alike. I quote the following passage from Mr. Wilson's Report to me :—

"The principal slave owners, sooner than complain, allow their slaves to do just as they like; consequently, many of them run away to the Mission stations at Ganjoni, Rabai, and Ribe, where they are offered an asylum and a life of comparative ease. During my experience when visiting these places, all I could make out was that an attendance at church was required of them, in return for which they received a plot of ground to build upon and do whatever cultivation they liked."

Mr. Wilson found it very difficult to do anything at the Missions. Mr. England and Mr. Howe seemed disinclined to help him, and Watoro continued to come in and to be given permission to squat in the stations without any inquiries by the local clergy in charge.

Meanwhile, the question of slavery on the mainland had engaged the attention of Parliament, owing to the pledge given by Her Majesty's Government to abolish it in Zanzibar, and, in consequence of a statement made by the Attorney-General in the course of a debate, I received orders from home to cease from arresting and restoring slaves even within the Sultan's territory on the sole ground that they were fugitives. The Attorney-General's opinion that such arrest and restoration were illegal, which was the original ground of this instruction, was, as you will see by the latest Blue Book, considerably modified on an examination by the Law Officers of the peculiar local laws of this country, but the old practice was not reverted to, and Mr. Hollis, Assistant District Officer in Rabai, informs me that slaves who do not care to work, or who are bad characters or vagrants, have been steadily pouring into Rabai and Ribe at the rate of twenty or thirty a-month, and are usually allowed to squat on the land claimed by the Missions, which at Rabai is, I fancy, rather more extensive than your letter would lead me to suppose, and includes a large part of the town. As the masters have practically given up all hope of getting them back, Mr. Hollis is scarcely ever called upon to settle these cases by endeavouring to effect, which is what we now try to do, a voluntary arrangement between masters and slaves by which the latter shall agree to buy their freedom ; but he informs me that, in an instance in which a slave woman was summoned by one of the Courts to Mombasa, he was told by Mr. Smith that the latter had orders from Bishop Tucker to resist the Courts and to go to prison if necessary, rather than allow her to be sent down. How the matter ended I do not know. I suppose it was compromised somehow.

2. You say that I imply that the rebellion of 1895 was in some way connected with the runaway slave question, whereas it really arose out of a dispute about the Governorship of Takaungu. What I wished to convey, in reply to a despatch asking for a full analysis of all the causes of the rising, was that the dispute about Takaungu was merely the pretext and occasion for the revolt.

A feeling of discontent with European rule and general restlessness had for some time past prevailed among several Arab Chiefs along the coast, and one among the causes of their discontent was the anti-slavery policy with which all Englishmen in the country, whether officials or missionaries, were in a greater or lesser degree identified. I believe that if there had been no succession question at Takaungu we should have come to blows sooner or later with Mbarak, and that the slave question added fuel to the rising, although it did not actually provoke it. The adhesion of Hamis-bin-Kombo, which carried with it the revolt of the whole of the northern part of Mombasa district, was, I think every one will tell you, largely due to the resentment with which he in particular

had for many years past regarded the harbouring of Watoro by the Missions. In the days of the Company it was constantly reported that he was meditating an attack on Freretown, and I have been assured on good authority that he attempted to induce Salim and Mbarak to join him with this object at the time of the revolt on the German Coast. Irritation at our anti-slavery policy, which found its strongest exponents in the Missions, was to my mind an important factor in the rising, and I think this opinion is very generally shared by other Europeans.

3. You go on to observe that the funds of the Church Missionary Society are not employed in competing with native owners in the labour market. I did not say that they were. What I did and do say is that Watoro who go to Rabai are allowed to squat on land claimed by the Missions without paying rent, and to maintain themselves by doing as much or as little work as they please and keeping all they can produce, so long as they conform to certain Mission rules, *e.g.*, sending their children to school, &c. But a native land-owner cannot give allotments gratis. He expects his slaves, if they occupy and cultivate his land, to give him a *quid pro quo* in work, or to pay him at least some portion of their produce. He has not, like the Church Missionary Society or other Missions, thousands of pounds every year from the charity and piety of the faithful, and therefore he looks to his land to support his family and himself. If his slaves find that by going to a Mission station they can get a plot of land without having to pay rent, either in work or kind, can keep whatever they earn, and are protected against being sent back, the Mission, as a land-owner rather than as an employer, will draw to itself, by the more advantageous conditions obtainable on its land, the industry, such as it is, of the adjoining plantations and coast towns.

Meanwhile, the State, by the high wages it offers on the Uganda Railway—wages which no native agriculturist can possibly pay—has made it practically impossible for the Swahili shamba owner in the Mombasa district to obtain free labour if he wished to, whilst Government and the Missions combine in different ways to render it difficult for him to retain his inherited or purchased slave labour. He is therefore in a very bad way indeed, and I think that the action of the Missions, particularly within the last two years, is largely, though not of course entirely, the cause of it. I do not "lay all the trouble at the missionaries' door." I have never shrunk from admitting our own responsibility as an Administration; but I believe that if the Missions were to refuse to give Watoro permission to settle on their lands and stations—save in exceptional cases, such as bad treatment by their masters, or having no home of their own—the influx which Mr. Hollis says is constantly going on would diminish, and these people would have less temptation to leave their own villages, where, whatever may be said about slavery in the abstract, they generally in practice have a very easy and comfortable time. Makongeni and Uganda are not cases in point. The Arabs quite understand that outside the Sultan's border they cannot recover their slaves, but what they complain of is that we will not enforce their legal rights, which we have pledged ourselves to do, in places like Rabai, &c., which are in the Zanzibar territory. And the unwillingness of the Government to allow us to enforce these rights is the result, in some degree at least, of the influence of the Missions and of the efforts of their representatives at home.

I hope the above explanation will make my meaning clearer to you than it appears from your letter to be. I shall send home a copy of my reply, as well as of your letter, but as to whether the Foreign Office will think it necessary or desirable to publish the correspondence is a matter on which I can give no opinion.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

P.S.—Since beginning this letter, I have seen a letter in the "Times" on this subject from Bishop Tucker, in which he accuses me of inconsistency for saying in the same breath that the Missions harboured and ceased to harbour fugitive slaves.

The above quotations will show that what I meant to say, and what is the fact, was that they did both at different times. I do not think it necessary to discuss his Lordship's attacks on myself individually, as these are personal matters which do not touch the question of principle. He seems to think it a brave thing to "dare to criticise the policy of the Consul-General," by which I suppose he means that of Her Majesty's Government (since in the nature of things I can have no policy apart from theirs), as if this were not done every day by every writer in the Opposition press.

To declaim against British officials for tolerating slavery may have needed some courage in the time of Wilberforce and Clarkson; it is but a cheap and hackneyed road to popularity to-day. He has evidently misunderstood the Attorney-General's exposition of

the law; it is given very fully in Lord Salisbury's despatch to me of the 15th June, which appears in the Blue Book under discussion.

A. H. H.

No. 24.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received April 5.)

My Lord, *Machakos, February 17, 1899.*

I TRANSMITTED copies of your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant on the subject of the law of slavery to Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioners in the Provinces of Seyyidieh and Tanaland and to the Judicial Officer for the Protectorate. The course therein indicated is practically identical with that which has been followed in both these provinces ever since the instruction which your Lordship did me the honour to send me in, I think, June 1897,* after the opinion expressed in Parliament on this question by Her Majesty's Attorney-General.

From the reference in your Lordship's telegram to the "Proclamation of 1890," it is evident that Her Majesty's Government had in mind, when they came to the decision therein mentioned, the Zanzibar portions of the Protectorate. The law of the Sultanate of Witu respecting domestic slavery, though very similar to that of Zanzibar, is governed not by the Proclamation of 1890, but by the "Regulations for the Administration of the Witu Protectorate,"† made in August 1893 by Mr. Rodd and Sir Lloyd Mathews, and approved shortly afterwards by the Earl of Rosebery. Strictly speaking these Regulations extend to the whole territory, certainly the whole coast, from the Tana to the Juba, except the strip between the Tana and Kipini and the 10 miles radius round Kismayu, but I have never enforced them, in so far as they relate to slavery, save in Witu proper, as defined by the late Agreement, and in those immediately adjacent portions of the Province of Tanaland in which they were actually promulgated, and made effective by the late Seyyid Hamed-bin-Thwain, in his capacity as Administrator, under Her Majesty's Government of the Witu Protectorate. I have never indeed recognized the legal status of slavery beyond Kipini at all, except within the limits above mentioned, which exclude the entire Province of Jubaland, my main reason being a feeling that the turbulent and lawless Somalis, who had never submitted to the Witu Protectorate, did not merit the indulgence from us, in a matter such as the toleration of slavery, which might properly be extended to loyal and peaceable Mahommedan populations, whilst in the case of the Gosha people, who were fugitive slaves themselves, and Mahommedans only in name, the abolition of slavery could not be considered a real hardship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 25.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received April 5.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, March 7, 1899.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd October last, calling for a Report on the proposed employment of destitute freed children on the Shamba belonging to the Zanzibar Government at Tundawa.

I have not had an opportunity of personally visiting Pemba since this proposal took effect, but I learn from inquiries that have been made that there are now upwards of fifty native children settled on the Shamba; some of them are living with their parents, who have themselves been freed, and who are now earning their livelihood by plantation work, while the remainder, having no relations to take care of them, have been adopted by men and women similarly employed who have no families of their own. This arrangement appears to be quite satisfactory, and the children, I am told, are very happy in their new surroundings.

Such of the children as are old and strong enough to do light work are employed

* See "Africa No. 6 (1898)," No. 7.
† Given at p. 14 of "Africa No. 1 (1894)."

for a few hours a-day on the plantations, and, together with their younger companions, receive instruction during their leisure hours at a small day-school which has been opened by the Universities' Mission.

No children have yet been sent to Tundawa from the mainland.

I have, &c.
(In the absence of Sir A. Hardinge),
(Signed) BASIL S. CAVE.

No. 26.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

My Lord, *Mombasa, March* 18, 1899.

MY attention has been called by the Rev. Douglas Hooper, priest-in-charge of the Church Missionary Society's station at Jilore (Malindi district), to the fact that under the stress of the famine the natives of Giriama are selling their infant children, on the pretence that these sales are marriages or betrothals, in return for food, and that the children so sold become virtual slaves of their purchasers.

I had the honour to mention in my last Annual Report that Mr. MacDougall, Collector of the Malindi district, had prohibited this practice when the famine first began, and had punished some Wagiriama who were guilty of it, but it appears that the Mombasa Courts find it difficult to convict for Slave Trade in most of these cases, where it cannot be proved that any departure from the usual tribal marriage customs has taken place.

I have consulted the Judicial Officer as to the framing of a Regulation which shall enable us to deal more effectually than we are at present able to do with this abuse, but he thinks that legislation on the subject will require a good deal of care, and I have therefore asked a Committee of three, consisting of Mr. Cator (President), Mr. MacDougall, and the Rev. H. K. Binns, as representing the Church Missionary Society, to discuss the best means of meeting the difficulty, and to make recommendations to me, or in my absence to Mr. Crawfurd, on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 27.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received April 15.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, March* 24, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, in continuation of my despatch of the 23rd April last,* a copy of a Report with its inclosures which I have received from Sir Lloyd Mathews on the subject of the working during the past year of the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery.

Sir Lloyd incloses Reports from Mr. Last and Archdeacon Farler, the two Commissioners appointed to supervise the execution of the Decree in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba respectively, and from Mr. Alexander, who, as Assistant Treasurer to the Sultan's Government, has most experience of its practical working in the capital.

Mr. Last's Report contains, in addition to his observations on the operation of the Decree, some minute accounts of tours made by him in his capacity of Slavery Commissioner throughout certain of the remoter districts of this island, and although much of the information which he has collected and reproduced has no especial bearing on the question of slavery and emancipation, it is, I think, of interest, and not without a certain indirect value as throwing light on the general condition of the soil and people, as well as on native customs and modes of thought.

Your Lordship will observe from Mr. Farler's Report that he has practically superseded the Pemba Walis, though they still sit formally with him, as District Magistrate in all matter affecting slavery, and there is, therefore, in Pemba, at least, no longer any ground for the complaint made at first by critics of the Decree

* See "Africa No. 6 (1898)," No. 29.

that its administration was left entirely in the hands of Arab Judges of doubtful impartiality and good faith.

If Mr. Last interferes somewhat less actively in this island, it is (*a*) because the Zanzibar Walis are both younger and more modern-minded men, and, therefore, need less guidance and supervision; and (*b*) because the majority of cases in the three Zanzibar districts, and all those in which the question of compensation arises, are ultimately referred to Sir Lloyd Mathews and Mr. Alexander at the capital. Many slaves in this island come, in fact, direct into town without troubling to go, as they should strictly do by law, to the Wali of their district, and in order to simplify the work as much as possible, in accordance with your Lordship's instructions, the English town officials take these cases at once.

I have written so fully both in my last year's Report* and in previous despatches on the whole question of the abolition of slavery in these islands, and my views on the subject are so well known to your Lordship, that I do not propose to supplement by any comments of my own the remarks contained in the inclosed papers. I should merely wish to draw attention to one circumstance in connection with the indifference displayed by the slave population to the formal grant of freedom, on which stress has not, as yet, so far as I can remember, been laid. A slave freed by his master, either as a reward for good service, or as an act of piety, almost always receives from him, together with his freedom, a substantial present. If the Arab is a landowner he will give the slave the freehold of an allotment on which to maintain himself and his family in his new condition; if not, he will bestow on him a sum of money with which to start as a freeman.

I do not say that the practice is universal, but it is very general among the better classes, and I have been often struck, when reading, in connection with legal cases which came before me, the wills of Arabs, by the minute care with which they make provision out of land or money for the future maintenance of the various slaves whom they direct their executors to manumit.

The Courts, on the other hand, when they free a slave, give him only a certificate, which at one time, before the legal enforcement of slavery was abolished, he could make a few rupees of by selling to a fellow slave, but which, now that any one who chooses to apply for it can have it for the asking, has lost all market value. The slave, therefore, who has a fairly good master, and who knows that the moment he is dissatisfied with that master he can leave him with less warning than a servant would give in England, often prefers to wait the chance of being freed by him with some material advantage, such as that which I have described, rather than hasten to get a bare certificate—in his eyes, of no practical benefit to him—from a Magistrate.

For this and other reasons given by the Commissioners, it may, I think, well be that for many years to come, and until native feeling has undergone a considerable change, persons for whom no compensation would be given—such as children born after 1890, and, therefore, free even before the late Decree—will continue, so long as they find it suits them to do so, to call themselves the "slaves" of the Arabs on whose lands or in whose houses they reside, and to live very much as they did under the old system. At the same time, it is probable that every year will witness a considerable increase in the number of slaves actually freed by the Courts as distinct from those who remain with their masters under only slightly modified conditions.

Thus, the total number of slaves who actually received freedom papers from the Courts during the present year, reckoning from April to April, had already in February considerably exceeded that for last year, and amounted (deducting the ninety freed in the first quarter of last year, which is given as if it belonged to this year in the Government Report, and the 795 freed by owners) to 2,800 for ten months of the year 1898–99 as compared with 1,392 during the entire twelve months of the previous year. The number of freedom papers granted by the Courts has, therefore, already more than doubled during the present year, whilst, as a result of the measures adopted last autumn by the Government at the time of the clove harvest, contracts and wages have almost everywhere superseded the old arrangements, even in plantations, where the so-called slaves have not cared to take the trouble of asking for freedom papers. It may, in fact, I think, be safely stated, whatever may be said about the difference between the abolition of slavery and the abolition of the legal status, or recognition of slavery—and the distinction has never

* See "Africa No. 3 (1899)."

seemed to me to be a very important one—that slavery, in so far as it connotes compulsory or involuntary labour, has entirely ceased to exist. It is important, I think, to accentuate this point, as, to judge by articles and speeches published in the press, considerable misapprehension appears still to exist with regard to it.

There is one other point in connection with this subject on which I ought to touch—the question of utilizing the Government shamba at Tundawa (to which reference is made in Sir L. Mathew's Report, and which Mr. Cave has described in his despatch of the 7th instant) as a refuge for young children from the mainland, who may become homeless owing to the operation in their case of one or other of the various anti-slavery laws. I discussed this question with Sir Lloyd Mathews, and he is prepared to take as many children as we care to send him from the East Africa Protectorate, and to house, feed, and clothe them, besides teaching them reading, writing, and a trade, for 4*d.* a-day a-head, or about 6*l.* a-year. Assuming that only fifty such children are rendered homeless in a year (for, as I have already said, I believe many respectable Arab masters would continue to look after them even after they were declared free, so that all so freed need not be thrown on charity), this gives an annual expenditure of about 300*l.* on these little freed-men.

I visited yesterday, with Sir Lloyd Mathews, the little Settlements near Zanzibar for lepers, destitute old people, infirm freed slaves, and other objects of charity which he mentions in his Report, and was very agreeably impressed with the good work which is already being done there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 27.

Sir Ll. Mathews to Sir A. Hardinge.

Sir, *Zanzibar, March* 17, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to hand you herewith Reports for the past year by Mr. Farler from Pemba, Mr. Last from the various districts in Zanzibar, and from Mr. Alexander from Zanzibar town, on the working of the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

These Reports are so full there is little I can add, as for fully five months of the year I was very ill with malarial fever, and Mr. Alexander undertook the whole working of the office. You will, however, be interested to learn what has been done to provide for the freed slaves who are unable to look after themselves.

The tract of land between Mbweni Mission and Chukwani Palace, a distance of 3 miles by about 1 in depth from the sea inland, belongs to His Highness the Sultan. At about 1 mile from Mbweni His Highness has given the Government as much of this land as may be required for leper, poor, and freed-slave establishments.

The leper station was built last year, and there are now twenty-five lepers residing there. The station has an office, dispensary, store-rooms, bath-rooms for men and women, and a well-built well, which will shortly be worked by a windmill, &c. By the end of the year we hope to collect together all the lepers on this island, and make arrangements for those at Pemba. The station is half-a-mile from the main road inland. Dr. Spurrier was in charge, but was obliged to go home on sick leave. It is now under the care of Mahomed-bin-Saïd Mandri, my old native Commander of Regulars, who to his profession of a soldier has added that of medicine, the law ("sheria"), and reader of the Koran. He was directly under one of the British Consulate surgeons for years before joining the Urzam (Regulars), and has also made himself well acquainted with all native drugs and illnesses; therefore, from his position and from having been born in Zanzibar, he has much influence over all classes, and is very well fitted to take charge of those stations.

The second station or village for the destitute, infirm, and sick slaves without masters to assist them, is now finished, in so far that over 100 cases can be given houses, and arrangements are being made for the building of accommodation for a large number, who, as they get convalescent, will be given small holdings to cultivate. The village is well built, and has its mosque, gaol, police quarters, and village shops with grain, lentils, and cloth. A dispensary and office will be finished before this letter arrives in England.

For the present the dispensary at the neighbouring leper station is utilized for dispensing medicines to all sick that take up their quarters near the settlement of the poor people. Until the buildings are dry, the sick, destitute, and infirm are kept as inmates of the hospital and outbuildings, and others are living on the charity of Mahommedans, from whom they receive food and clothing, coming to the hospital to be treated as out-patients.

From my own observation as regards charity, the Mahommedans, in their quiet unostentatious manner of giving relief, practically not letting their left hand know what the right hand has done, teach us Christians a good lesson. An earthly recompense is not looked for by them. The poorest man can enter a Mahommedan house and ask for a meal; he will not be sent away fasting, and will generally receive something for the following day. This is absolutely true, and shows that Mahommedans are not the monsters of cruelty they are painted.

To my mind, the above shows that the gradual freeing of slaves by the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery is a very wise method. There is no fear of slaves being ill-treated now they have the same rights in Courts of law as their masters; they are paid for their labour, and can obtain their freedom when they please. A gradual emancipation teaches them their position by giving them time to judge for themselves, to think of their future, and act when it pleases them, instead of leaving their masters without thought, becoming vagrants, and pauperized.

An incident occurred lately which bears out what I have previously written about the summary freeing of women. About a month ago I had to send parties of police to a long line of bush fringing the Cooper's Institute to clear out more than 150 women, who had built, in the more secluded spots, small huts for purposes of prostitution. Most of these women were freed slaves. Again, the other night six women who had been lately freed came to my house at 9 P.M. and asked for a room in which to sleep, stating that they had nowhere else to go, and they were ashamed, after being freed, to ask for quarters elsewhere.

Gradual emancipation may also settle finally the question of labour. At the commencement of the clove season I directed the Commissioners and Governors of districts to impress upon the Arabs the necessity of making financial arrangements to pay for labour in connection with the harvesting or picking of the clove crop, instead of giving the usual food allowance in kind, such as grains and lentils, &c. At the same time I sent for all the Nakoas (chief slaves of plantations) and Headmen of plantations, and personally impressed upon them the advisability of using their influence with their fellow slaves and friends to work at the harvest with a will, and informed them that their masters should in return pay for their labour at the market price. They left thanking me for having sent for them, and for arranging with their masters that they should have their share in the picking in money down.

I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Last, Zanzibar Commissioner, has been advised to take six months' leave, as he is suffering from the effects of many expeditions over the island, ending in almost blood poisoning from Jiggers, which brought his feet to such a state that they will not heal in this climate. Mr. Last has done very good work; mapping out the islands in districts, and by giving all the Swahili names to the many hamlets. He has also made maps for the Governors, showing each where their jurisdiction ends. His work will be divided between Mr. Alexander, myself, and the Governors.

His Highness also sent large sums to his overseers to pay for labour in picking cloves both here and at Pemba, and placed his largest plantation in the hands of Mr. Lyne, Director of Agriculture, to be worked entirely on European lines.

Mr. Lyne was very successful, as after paying for labour and all that is necessary for harvesting cloves he handed over to His Highness 70 per cent. net of the amount derived from the sale of the cloves.

The following extracts are taken from Mr. Herbert Lister's Report on the Tandana plantation, dealing with fugitive and freed slaves :—

"At the beginning of the year we received from His Highness' Commissioner some 600 fugitive slaves, and a very large percentage were useless, infirm, or bad characters; they were approximately—

"25 per cent. worthless, idle, and dishonest.
20 „ aged.
10 „ infirm.
10 „ young persons and children.
15 „ fairly useful.
20 „ healthy and industrious.

"These persons were a great strain on the resources of the plantation, and many had hardly decent clothing; in fact, they had to be treated almost as children from the time of their arrival on to the clove season.

"Many planted rice, and seed was given to them, but as the season was much too dry, their crops never matured. Others planted cassava, but much of this was stolen, so again these people had to be provided for. Those willing to work were employed clearing up the long neglected parts of the plantation.

"But there is no doubt that many, according to their own confession, had not been in the habit of doing steady work, nor had they any intention of doing so, therefore it was found needful to appoint two rangers to patrol the plantation day and night. By degrees we arrived at a more settled state of things, but some finding our system too attentive, returned to their former masters, saying they preferred slavery.

"The old people about 20 per cent. These were given lighter kinds of work, such as making Makuti mats, &c.

"The infirm about 10 per cent. Mr. Farler paid a fair allowance to persons quite unable to work. Amongst these many had large ulcers, and we have trained a native to attend on them, providing him with bandages and ointment.

"For those wishing to be taught, a school has been opened here by the Universities' Mission, which is attended for morning lessons. Those living with their parents have been cared for by them, others not having parents have been adopted, and others are given light work after school hours.

"Healthy and Industrious. From these we have chosen ten Majumbe or Headmen, and to each Majumbe a district or hamlet has been assigned. These Majumbe to a great extent overseer their people in their work, and care for them in various ways, such as reporting sick, runaways, new arrivals, and settling minor disputes among them.

"We have also been able to form what we call our building gang, that is to say, men of some skill in building houses; these are often employed by the Pemba Public Works Department in various parts of the island.

"We have also begun in a small way, yet with some success, rope-making from cocoanut fibre, also lime burning; the latter has proved the more profitable, no doubt on account of rope-making requiring greater practice to attain success.

"We have carefully counted the cocoanut trees, and find there are 8,000 trees in bearing, and 6,000 young or non-bearing trees.

"The total yield for the year has been 124,000 nuts, and an increase of 20,000 on 1897. There is no doubt this increase would have been still greater had we not lost many by theft in the early days of the fugitive slave settlement, and as, at the end of 1897, all ripe nuts were gathered in; but at the end of 1898 we had some 40,000 nuts ripe and ready for fathering. This will tell to the credit of 1898.

"The total number of clove trees is 4,700, nearly all of which are in good bearing condition; the yield for the season, being 996 fraslas, equal to $7\frac{1}{3}$ lb. per tree.

"For the accommodation of our own people we have opened a small store, which has proved profitable as well as useful.

"Seeing that our once fugitive slaves have now become more settled, more orderly and in better condition, we have agreed with them that they work for us three days per week free, in return for cultivating rights. Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays are to be free days, when all persons will be expected to work in their own districts under their Majumbe, or as need calls them in other parts of the plantation. Those that ask for work on Thursdays, Fridays, or Saturdays, will be given wages at the market rate."

Finding the northern and Indian dhows last year brought small-pox into the islands, and that plague might also in the same way be introduced, a coastguard service blocking the outer entrances to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, has been organized to prevent dhows entering all ports except that of Zanzibar, and also to prevent northern dhows sailing for Arabia entering the inner ports for the purpose of kidnapping slaves.

The Creeks of Pemba last year were entirely blockaded, and not a single dhow was allowed to clear for Arabia without being thoroughly examined first. A dhow carrying French colours attempted to embark slaves and leave, but was prevented from doing so; the owner of the vessel is still in prison here.

Slaves Freed in Zanzibar and Pemba.

During 1898.

	Males.	Females.	In all.
Zanzibar	223	261	484
Pemba	595	721	1,316
Children	..	..	220
Slaves freed by Arab owners in Zanzibar before me and Registrar	..	..	715
	..	..	2,735

January 1, 1899, to present date.

Zanzibar	..	..	238
Pemba	..	..	632
Slaves freed by Arab owners in Zanzibar before me and Registrar	..	..	81
	..	..	951

Slaves freed year ending 1898	2,735
„ from January 1, 1899, to present date	951
In all	3,686

COMPENSATION due to Owners of Slaves at Pemba.

	Rupees.
Due to owners of slaves on 31st December, 1898—	
Zanzibar	Nil.
Pemba	30,000
Due from 31st December to present date (Pemba estimate)	40,000
	70,000
Deduct for payment made during the last two months to Mr. Farler for compensation	17,000
Outstanding account due for compensation	53,000

We hope to liquidate this debt with the proceeds of the hut-tax from Zanzibar and Pemba.

SLAVES Imprisoned in Zanzibar and Pemba for the following Criminal Offences.

Vagrancy	912
Drunkenness	666
Thefts	662
Assaults	312
Total	2,552

RELIEF of Infirm, Destitute, and Sick Slaves received in the Zanzibar Government Hospital, Outstations and Pemba for the year 1898, and up to the present Date.

Government Hospital and outbuildings	350
Leper settlement	25
Attended by Mahomed-bin-Said near the poor settlement	140
Mr. Lister at Tandana, Pemba	325
Total	840

This does not include the number of slaves relieved by Mr. Farler at Chak Chak (report not yet received) which will bring the number to over 1,000 slaves.

I think it right to inform you that last year the Zanzibar Residents, both European and British Indians, most kindly contributed 100*l.* towards the establishment of the Leper Settlement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LLOYD WM. MATHEWS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

Mr. J. P. Farler to Sir Ll. Mathews.

Sir, *Chaki Chaki, Pemba, January* 31, 1899.

I HAVE the honour in obedience to your instructions to submit a Report on the working of the Decree of the 1st Zilkada, 1315, abolishing the legal status of slavery, during the past year in the Island of Pemba.

Since my last Annual Report the Decree has come into full operation, and we have now fair data to go upon as to how it will work in the future.

During the first four months of the year 1898, comparatively few slaves applied for the registration of their freedom. This was in some measure owing to an idea held by many of them, that it was necessary to prove cruelty against their masters in order to obtain their freedom; and partly to the fact that there was no regular Court-house, and they were not quite certain where to go.

In April the Commissioner's house was finished, and the Court-room which formed part of it opened. From that time the Wali and the Commissioner sat regularly with the exception of Sundays and Fridays. The slaves soon began to arrive, coming from all parts of the island, from Msuka in the north, to Fufuni in the south.

It was found that by simplifying as much as possible the process of taking marks and measurements for identification, it was possible to free about twenty a-day, but it depended a good deal upon the intelligence of the slaves themselves, as some of them seemed incapable of giving an intelligent answer.

The highest number reached in one day was twenty-five.

At 9 A.M. the doors of the Court are opened, and the slaves waiting are admitted. If there are more than twenty the remainder are given tickets assuring them the first turn on the following day. It there are more than forty waiting (which happened once or twice at first), the third twenty get tickets for the third day. For some time lately the numbers applying do not average more than twenty a-day—sometimes there are not even ten.

One day in each month is set apart for paying compensations, and every afternoon Arabs and others can come about their slaves who have been freed. The Court is at all times ready to draw agreements between masters and slaves when they request it.

In the four months from May to August, the numbers applying were the highest. Thus in April 52 adults were freed, in May the number increased to 140, and in August reached 228. This is exclusive of children, and of those slaves who made contracts with their masters to remain on their shambas as free labourers. No compensation is paid for children.

As soon as it was realized by the shamba proprietors that this was to be a record year for cloves, they began to be anxious about labour, and with the usual exaggeration of our Arab friends, they came crying loudly that all their slaves were leaving them, and that their cloves would have no one to gather them, and that they would be ruined.

There was no doubt that the future of the country depended very much upon what happened in the shambas this first year of emancipation, independently of the Arabs being able to pay off their mortgages to the Indians, and save their shambas. This year would give the key note to the future years.

The Walis and myself, and other Arabs held many anxious conferences as to the best thing to be done. The Government was desirous of helping them to the best of its power, if they would only help themselves, and recognize that slave labour was doomed, and that they must turn to free labour.

When your letter came authorizing me to announce to the Arabs that His Highness the Sultan's Government strongly advised them to make contracts with their slaves for the picking of the cloves at the market rate of wages, so that they might retain such labour as they had for the harvest, and where they had not enough labour on their own

shambas to engage freed slaves and other at the same rate, we were very glad and felt that the situation was saved.

This was soon announced by letters from the Walis all over the island; and Regulations and Rules, such as paying every night in pice, no one to pay in kind, &c., were drawn up. I cannot say this advice was at first popular, and many said they should pay no attention to it. People who had hitherto been accustomed to unpaid labour, could not bring themselves in a moment to see the beauty of paid labour, and they believed that it would mean ruin to them. It was pointed out to them that on all the Government shambas labour was paid for, and it was found to be so superior to slave labour that instead of a loss there was a profit. After a while the force of circumstances was too strong for them, and they gradually fell in with the idea, and began making contracts with their slaves. The slaves were highly delighted at the news, and accepted gratefully the new arrangement, the immediate effect being that they almost ceased coming for their freedom.

The clove harvest commenced in September, and during that month only 75 adults applied for their freedom compared with 228 freed in August.

A few old-fashioned Arabs held out, and loudly protested against this "robbery" of their slave-labour; but upon their slaves promptly going off to some other shamba where wages were being paid, and finding they had no lawful power to bring them back they thought it wise to give way under protest, and do as others did. One or two obstinate old gentlemen have lost the greater part of their crop through holding out, and now they are sorry for it.

All freed slaves who had no regular work were ordered to look for work in the shambas and pick cloves, the Court making contracts for them at the Government rate of pay.

Many freed slaves who had been settled on Government shambas, or assigned to the various missions, took advantage of this new state of things, and went off to the nearest shamba where the cloves were ready, without troubling themselves to obtain permission from, or say farewell to, their new protectors.

Towards the end of the year the competition for labour increased, and the price rose from 3 pice a pishi, to 4, 5, and even 6 pice.

The British Indians who, now that they can avail themselves of free labour, are either buying shambas or foreclosing their mortgages, entered keenly into this competition for labour. At first they tried the truck system, but the labourers complained that they were not fairly dealt with, and preferred to work where they were paid regularly in cash.

In the month of September and October the Wali and I visited the principle clove shambas to find out whether there was fair dealing all round, for the African needs quite as much looking after as the Arab.

We everywhere received a kindly welcome, and as soon as we stopped we were busily engaged in drawing up contracts between masters and men. I made it a point to ask each slave separately if they wished to make the agreement, but they all seemed eager to do so.

I then wrote down their names in a book, and the names of their master. Then the Wali and I signed it as witnesses. Our visit seemed to be greatly appreciated, and we had more invitations than we could possibly accept. Frequently while riding along the road we saw a group of slaves with their master waiting at a cross road having come from some outlying shamba, in order that the Sirkar might draw up their contract. At one place where several roads met, we found about 200 slaves, a number of Arabs and their attendants, with brilliantly saddled donkeys waiting for us under the shade of some big mango trees, forming a most picturesque group.

It was fortunate I had my tent with me, for through these unexpected delays we never quite know where sunset would find us. Here and there we came across Arabs inclined to grumble at having to pay wages to their slaves. I could not help feeling somewhat indignant with them, and said, surely God has blessed you this year, and filled your breasts with joy at the bountiful harvest. Why should you grudge your slaves a share in this joy? I think they were a little ashamed.

There is no doubt the slaves are having a good time of it this year, for I saw many little shops newly sprung up along the road near the clove shambas, selling fresh fish and meat, and other dainties dear to the African, and we constantly met people going home carrying fish or meat, and other things. The women have been replenishing their wardrobes, and buying such gorgeous coloured cloths, and wonderful turbans, that the eye is quite dazzled by them.

The Arabs are beginning to find out that the new system entails far less worry and loss upon them than the old.

In former times the slaves were provided with food during the clove harvest, and the result was that they were never satisfied either with the quality or quantity of the food provided. This led to sulking and insubordination, and sometimes to a strike. The latter was repressed with the stick, causing continual anxiety to the master. Then, as there was no advantage in working hard, the object of the slave was to do as little as possible, so that half the cloves on a shamba were never picked, and a dead loss to the owner.

But under the new arrangement all this is changed—the slave works by piece-work, and the more work they do the more pice they get, therefore they work hard. Pice being as an Arab said to me, the best overseer.

In the old times a slave picked from three to six pishi of cloves a day, and rested two days a week. Now many of them pick ten, twelve, and fifteen pishi a day, whilst two men told me they had picked twenty pishi a day, but this is very exceptional.

An Arab with a large shamba tells me that he has never before harvested such a quantity of cloves as he has this year, and, moreover, hitherto many cloves have remained on the trees unpicked until they were spoiled, while this year every tree has been clean picked.

It must not be supposed that all the slaves and freed slaves have worked satisfactorily this year. Many would do just enough work to keep body and soul alive. While others would work well for a little time, but as soon as they had earned a few rupees, leave their work, and go off to the town until they had spent it.

This has been checked as kindly and firmly as possible by arresting all found in the town without a house or work, and sending them back to the shambas. I believe some of the more provident have saved money, and I have heard of one man who has bought himself a small shamba out of his earnings, but this, I fear, is a solitary exception.

I think there has been some exaggeration about the number of slaves held in Pemba. From general observation I should say there were not more than 20,000 or 25,000 shamba slaves, it is impossible to get at any idea of the number of the domestic house servants.

The Wapemba on the east coast have a good number of slaves, but as they form part of the household, and live as members of the family, they show little or no desire to leave their owners.

I am glad to say the relationship between the Government officials and the various Missions has been most friendly and cordial during the past year, and the missionaries have shown every desire to be helpful.

The Roman Catholics have commenced Mission work on their shamba Dongoni, adjoining Banani. Father Schmitz being in charge, with a lay-brother as his assistant. He has offered to take of any children and people who cannot stand alone, and will, therefore, be very helpful to the Government.

The Universities' Mission has commenced work in its new shamba at Kisimbani, Weti, and has already commenced educational work, the school being attended by Arab and Swahili children, as well as African.

The Friends Mission at Banani and in Chak Chak has made great progress during the past year. I have been able to assign to it a large number of freed slaves who, whenever I have been at Banani, seem happy and contented. I cannot speak too highly of the medical work done by Miss Armitage and her brother in charge of the Friends' Mission in Chak Chak. Daily she has dispensed medicines to the sick, and advised me of any destitute sick who needed help from the Government.

A varying number of sick freed slaves, and others too feeble to work, come every day to the Court, and receive an allowance of pice from my clerk.

Last year there was a considerable congestion of undecided cases waiting for consideration at Banani and on the Government shamba, Tundana; but these have all now been disposed of and the slaves registered. Any cases there may be now are those of recent arrivals.

The compensations awarded by the Walis and the Commissioner the past year amount to 53,460 rupees. Of this sum 14,410 rupees was paid before the end of the year, and 10,000 rupees have been paid since, leaving a debt of about 30,000 rupees still to be paid on last year's awards.

The principles on which the compensations have been paid in Pemba are to consider 50 rupees as the average sum. Thus an able-bodied shamba hand, healthy and with full powers, is valued at 50 rupees. Physical defects, ill-health, or age, reduce this to 45 rupees or 40 rupees, or even 30 rupees, while failing powers through age, or long service, reduce it again to 20 rupees. On the other hand, for a specially powerful shamba slave the price may rise to 55 or 60 rupees. Slaves who have been trained as artizans,

such as masons, carpenters, silversmiths, &c., or females trained as house servants, cooks, ayahs, &c., range from 60 to 80 rupees. For harem women and concubines, 100 rupees.

Number of Slaves freed.—1,516 slaves have been registered as free during the past year in Pemba, and 829 more, without claiming their freedom, have made contracts with their masters by which they work for them as free labourers.

A large number of slaves have left their masters, and obtained work as free labourers without asking for their free papers or coming to be registered. These are being gradually gathered in and registered as they are pointed out by their old masters. I estimate the number of these to be about 600.

PEMBA.

Freed by Courts—			
Males	595		
Females..	721		
		1,316	
Children		200	
		1,516	
Contracted with their masters as free labourers—			
Males	383		
Females..	446		
		829	
Total		2,445	

Concubines.—Forty concubines have been before the Courts to ask for their freedom. Of these, twenty-five were freed with the sanction of the Courts, and in almost every case with the consent of their masters; fifteen were refused, as none of them had any valid reason for leaving their homes, and they had all been well treated. The general complaint was that they did not like the restraint of harem life, *i.e.*, they wanted to go out at nights as they pleased. Others had had some little tiff with another lady of the harem, and in a fit of temper had started off to ask for freedom. All these cases, however, were arranged to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned, and the ladies returned home with their lords.

Vagrancy, &c.—In the earlier part of the year it seemed that vagrancy would probably cause a good deal of trouble. Complaints were coming in from the Arabs that parties of runaway slaves were entering their shambas and helping themselves to as many cocoanuts as they could carry away, threatening the owners if they dared to interfere with them. A police patrol was then sent through the shambas, all vagrants were arrested.

The number of vagrants imprisoned month by month varied considerably. The number rose to fifty in June, and fell to one in October.

The following figures show the number of slaves or freed slaves, convicted during the past year in Pemba:—

Vagrants	218
Drunkards	155
Thieves	204
Breaking contract	8
Total	585

As I witness how quietly, and without any economic disturbance the evolution from slavery to freedom is going on, I feel more strongly than ever how wise the decision of the Government was for a gradual emancipation. Now the country, as it were (through the comparative slowness of the process of freeing slaves), digests them as fast as they are freed, and turns them into free labourers settled on the land.

If some of our more enthusiastic friends could have had their way, we should have had immediate and absolute emancipation on a given day. Then the whole country would have been disturbed, masses of the freed slaves would have roamed about plundering, and before they could have been settled, they would have contracted idle and dissolute habits, which would have taken years to have freed them from, at a heavy expense to the Government, and at a loss to the country.

All who really care for the well-being of the slave, and the welfare of the country, must be thankful for the way things have turned out in the past year.

The following is a specimen of the registration of a freed slave, copied from the register:—

"31st December. 1415. Faraji. Male. Nyassa Musud-bin-Aberrahim Busaidi Ole. 10 years. Shamba. I want to be free. Age 37. Height, 5 ft. 1½ in. Arm, 1 ft. 7 in. 2 cuts left side, 1 hole each ear. Small scars; beard; thick lips; moustache; hair on chest; color, dark brown. 50 rupees. Tundana."

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. P. FARLER

Inclosure 3 in No. 27.

Mr. J. T. Last to Sir Ll. Mathews.

Dear Sir Lloyd, *Mangapwani, February* 6, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for your information, the following Report on the work of my Department for the year 1898.

The object of this Report is to show the means used in the country districts of Zanzibar Islands, viz., Mkokotoni, Mwera, and Chwaka, for helping forward the working of the Decree for the abolition of the status of slavery; also to give some account of my journeys about the island whilst engaged in this work. With these are included some notes on the people and on various objects of interest which have come under my observation.

During the course of last year I spent a considerable time in travelling about from place to place, with the result that my movements have twice taken me over most of the island, so that there is not a town and scarcely a village or hamlet which has not been visited by me once or twice during the past year. Many of the roads traversed and places visited are shown in the maps of the Island of Zanzibar, which I have lately prepared for the use of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and for your Office.

My mode of working on these journeys was to arrange so as to pass through five or six places in the course of the day. On arrival at any place I used to ask for the head or principal man, who would generally appear, or if he did not, there would be a crowd of others around ready to hear whatever I had to say. At the same time I always had one or two men with me whose duty it was, whilst gathering information on other points, to go about amongst the people and make them more fully acquainted with the means by which freedom from slavery could be obtained, should any wish for it.

In the evening I would often put up for the night in the verandah of an Arab's house or of the house of the chief man of the village. At midday also I frequently rested in some such place.

On these occasions a "baraza" is always formed—that is, mats are spread, and people come together to see and hear what is going on. As soon as I am fairly seated amongst the people my men, who are appointed for such work, go about the village and surroundings and perform their duties.

After salutations, the subjects of conversation amongst these people do not form a very extended list, and it is always easy to draw their attention to that of agriculture, which incidentally and invariably leads on to that of slavery. This gives me the opportunity of saying what I have to say on that point, and also to discuss with land or slave-owners what may be the best means by which they may contend with, and overcome their present condition.

As is well known, the state or prosperity of the land-owners depends on the terms existing between themselves and their slaves, and on the conditions under which their estates are cultivated and conducted.

I generally endeavour to impress upon the owners of land the great importance of a closer personal superintendence of the working of their estates, and to bring to their notice one or more of the following modes of working an estate according to the circumstances of the people I may be talking with:—

1. To abolish all unpaid labour and substitute a regular payment of daily, weekly, or monthly wages instead.

2. To divide up the estate or such parts of it not occupied by clove or cocoanut trees, into a number of small homesteads or farms to be let out to holders on condition that they pay as rent one-third of the produce of the land occupied in value or kind.

3. To invite people to settle on the estate, and give them land on the condition

that they shall do a certain amount of labour for the owner of the land, according to the size and quality of their holdings.

4. In the case of clove or cocoanut plantations, to invite the people on the estate and outsiders to work at the gathering, giving them an interest in all they collect according to the amount and value of the crop. These workers could be paid in kind or in money, according to agreements or circumstances.

5. Another mode of working an estate but most unlikely to be adoped, and as little likely to be successful, even if adopted, is to invest the workers on an estate with an interest in the same, by which the owner would get a large share to compensate him for the yearly value of the land and for his work of superintending and conducting operations. The remainder to be divided amongst the workers, the respective shares of the owner and the workers would have to be decided by the nature and contents of the estate.

The first mode is scarcely practicable though very desirable, on the simple grounds that the number of land-owners in Zanzibar who could afford to work their land on a system of paying wages in money are very few; generally speaking the land-owners have no money, and probably could not get it without great disadvantage to themselves on account of the high rate of interest they would have to pay.

The second system, that of letting out the land to small holders at a rent of one-third of the produce, paid in value or kind, is very practicable, and in the north part of the island large portions of several estates are let out in this manner. The land is used chiefly for growing rice and other cereals, cassarea, sweet potatoes, various kinds of beans and other produce.

This manner of working an estate has the advantage of tending to instil a spirit of independence and self-reliance, and it might induce him to throw aside that love of indolence which is one of the greatest curses of the East African, whether slave or free.

The third system is not so good as the second, because in it the holder of land has to work for the owner, and so it has not the moral influence on the worker which the second system might have. The idea of right and what is due to the owner of the land held by the worker will not enter his mind, and undoubtedly he will try to do as little work as possible in return for the advantages he enjoys. The only check against this shirking of duty on the part of the holders of land is that they must have an "ungwe," or daily task of work, marked out for them, the amount of work demanded by the owner to agree with the conditions on which the land is held. This giving of "tasks" is well understood throughout the island, and is generally preferred by both free and slave workers. Task work should always be given wherever possible, as it is the most satisfactory manner of working for both owner and worker.

The fourth case deals with the gathering of crops, especially cloves. The system of giving the workers an interest in what they gather or collect has been adopted on several estates, especially in the northern parts of the island, the rule being to pay a certain number of pice for each measure picked, making it to the interest of the worker to gather as much as possible, in order to increase his number of pice at the end of the day's work. It was also as much to the interest of the owner to get all his cloves gathered. In some cases the workers are given a share in the crop, each receiving in kind according to the quantity of each individual's gathering. In some places I have seen people engaged in collecting the cloves which have fallen under the trees in the process of gathering. In this case the collectors were given a half share in all they collected. At one place I met quite a number of people going out at 5 o'clock in the morning on this kind of work, a thing they would scarcely do if engaged in ordinary shamba work for their masters, or even for pay.

The clove-picking should become a real harvest time, not only to the owners, but also to the workers, and it will be so as soon as the owners can be lead to see the advantage of spending 1 rupee in order to gain 3 or 4 rupees, and the workers be induced to throw aside some of their indolence, and see how much it is to their own benefit that they should have more means for their personal use.

But the slaves are not always willing to work, even if fairly paid for their labour. During the present clove-picking season, whilst travelling about the island, I frequently came across cases in which all the slaves of an estate refused to work for pay on their own three days of the week, and would rather sit and idle away their time, and see their master's crop of cloves spoiling, than gather them for him at a fair pay. In many cases it is because they are not obliged to do it; they won't. I was told of a man the other day who, on being asked why he did not go to work, said: "If an order is given by the 'Serikali' (Government) for a thing to be done I will be the first to do it, but to go and work on my own initiative, no, I won't do it." This is, I think, a kind of key-note to the general feeling of most of the lower classes in the Zanzibar country districts. They will

do a thing sometimes apparently willingly if they know they must do it, but not otherwise, unless perhaps a sudden fancy may induce them to do it. Their wants are easily supplied; they have no thought for the morrow, and therefore do not attempt or even think of providing for it. A few days ago I had to discharge a man from work because I did not any longer require his services. A day or so afterwards he sent saying that he wanted to marry, and asked my permission. He was informed that he could do as he pleased, but it seemed so absurd and reckless on his part, for he had not the slightest idea of his future, and his chances for anything like regular employment were as remote as they possibly could be. However, these people seem to pull through somehow.

Regarding the fifth mode of working an estate, there is not much to be said at present in favour of it, though perhaps when the condition of the workers is a better or less dependent state, it might be worthy of fuller consideration. At present it would be very difficult for slaves, free slaves, or free men to undertake to work an entire estate on the agreement that they should participate in a share of the profits or produce of the estate. Even if the owners were willing to allow outsiders to undertake the actual working of their estates on the above conditions, the workers could scarcely do it. They could not afford to wait for their share of profits in the undertaking. They would be compelled to borrow the few pice they wanted for their daily food, and something for clothing, at the rate of 25 per cent. per month, that is, if they borrowed 1 rupee for a month, at its end they would have to pay $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees. It would not matter where they borrowed, whether from Hindi, Arab, or Swahili, the rate would be the same, and this kind of thing would more than swallow up all the profits of their undertaking.

The great hindrance to the advancement of the slave, or freed slave, or even the free man, is his natural love of indolence and his inability to appreciate a state of independence. This is shown not only in the slave, but in the men born free. Just as the lower freemen in England in the middle ages felt the necessity of owning some one greater than himself as his over-lord or chief, so here many, perhaps all of the lower freemen (men born free), are attached to some person or other whom they look up to as their "Mkubwa" or Chief, or as a kind of patron, and to whom they can appeal in times of troubles or distress. More especially is this feeling of dependence seen in the slave, and naturally so. In most cases the slaves were born in a state of slavery, and their parents also, and if these latter were not actually slaves, the greatest probability is that they were serfs to a Chief in their own or some other land. For ages neither they nor their fathers have known what a state of individual independence means—any one who has travelled much in Africa knows that a very large percentage of the natives are either slaves proper or else serfs to the Chief of the district—though in all appearance to the stranger they live and act as free men. But though slaves, they are the "watoto" of their owners, and they live and act as their children. As an example of the treatment of slaves, I may state the following, which came under my own notice. Some years ago I was living at the foot of the Namuli Hills, in the Makua country, in the town of an old Chief named Guruwe. I got to know him and his people well. The Chief Guruwe at one time was building a house, and one day he and his wife went out, and I saw them returning with big loads of grass. I asked him why he did not send some of his slaves (the greater part of the people of the place were his slaves, and probably all the people were bound to render him service as Chief did he require it) to do this work, to which he replied, "Those, my children, have their own houses and gardens to look after, and find plenty to do." As it is on the mainland in many places, so it is generally in the country districts of Zanzibar. The slaves are the "watoto," the children of their owners. There may have been some few cases of hardship, and even cruelty (and what state or community of life will be found without hardship or cruelty in some form or other?), but these are the few exceptions to the generally fair conduct of the owners to their slaves, and in most cases the slaves deserve the punishments they have to bear just as much as offenders in any other state of life.

To understand the feelings of a slave when freedom and separation from his surroundings are offered to him one must know something of his life and training. To take an instance. A slave boy is born on an estate, the mother is quite as well, and often better, looked after than a free woman would be under such circumstances, because she has all her "wajoli" (fellow slaves), and generally her master and mistress, to attend to her welfare. The child is generally made a pet of by the "wajoli," and he often gets more notice taken of him by his master and mistress than employers in England would deign to show to the children of those who work for them; so the young fellow thrives and laughs and crows, and is as happy as any child can be. In this jolly state he rolls about in the dust and dirt, and grows up into a strong healthy lad. He has by this time

made himself quite at home in and about his master's house (for though he is a slave, and though in fact scarcely any East African can understand absolute independence, yet he early acquires the habit of recognizing himself as a separate unit in his own community). He is invariably on the scene should a stranger appear, and he is allowed to press himself forward to see what is going on, which he does with much more eagerness than English boys would dare to do under similar circumstances. He now begins to do odd jobs about the house, and later on will probably be appointed to attend to his master's donkey, in much the same way that an English boy may look after his father's pony or cob; neither gets wages, but both get food, clothing, and lodgings, and whatever else may be necessary. Like most boys he has his ups and downs, but generally he is a happy youth—as a matter of real fact, it is as difficult to meet with a really unhappy-looking slave in the shambas of Zanzibar as it is to catch sight of a dead donkey in England. The youth ultimately becomes one of his master's attendants till he is 16 or 18 years of age, and then he probably begins to look out for a wife. This he finds perhaps amongst his own "wajoli," whom he marries with his master's consent, or else he agrees with a slave on another estate, in which case his master arranges the affair for him. He may then settle down on the estate with his wife—a piece of land is given him for his use, and he builds a house. Here he lives, working for his master on the appointed days, and for himself as he thinks he will in his own time.

All East Africans are fairly keen traders, and often, instead of settling down on the estate, his master gives him permission to live elsewhere, and to trade or follow any other employment on the condition that he gives something (nominally a monthly payment) to his master; and this he does generally, for he does not care to separate himself from his old associations, or to discard a place of refuge should he require it through sickness, want, or any other trouble. Here he knows there is always food of some sort for him, shelter, and attendance, too, both from his wajoli and his master if he should be ill.

This being the ordinary condition of slaves, men and women, we cannot be much surprised at their being so slow to appreciate what we call "the blessings of freedom." In the first place, they can scarcely understand what "freedom" means as we know it. They have no practical knowledge of it; and what they have seen of it, and it is this which concerns them most closely, only tends to make them prefer to remain as they are, as is well known all rescued or freed slaves are named "Mateka," which is regarded as an opprobrious term, meaning those slaves who have been taken by force from their masters by Europeans. These are all more or less despised by free people, who will not regard them as their equals in freedom, but simply as being still slaves who have been stolen.

The slaves also regard them in the same manner, and look down upon them for the same reason. Certainly there are but few, either free people or slaves, who would undertake to assist a "Mateka"—so to the slave to accept freedom from the European's hands often appears to him like throwing away great advantages to get something, which to him is worse than useless. To accept freedom from one's own owner is quite another thing, and honourable; the master does it of his own will, perhaps for the spiritual advantage which he hopes to obtain by the act. But even then the one who is set free does not become a "Mngwana" (free man) in the full sense of the term; he is an "Hadimu" (a freed man) of such and such a person, viz., whoever gave him his freedom.

Under these circumstances, the slaves set free by Europeans become more or less social outcasts. The master of a freed man of this kind will have no more to do with him, nor will his wajoli or other slaves, and he is equally despised by all free people. He is in much the same state as an Indian who has been put out of caste either by his own act or that of others. He has no friends anywhere. Now, when we consider the slave, as a slave has some material advantages, viz., an owner who will look after him in case of sickness and feed him when necessary, give him a home and land for his own use and many perquisites out of the estate, together with all his old associations with his wajoli and owners, which are not of little consideration, it is, I think, not surprising that the slave should be so slow to throw aside all these and adopt a course which would make him an isolated unit in the world, without any refuge, and despised more or less by all around him. The more especially so when we consider his imperfect knowledge of the value of freedom, his natural indolence or even laziness, and the habit of dependence on others which have been bred in him through many generations.

In my Report for the year 1897, I endeavoured to show the then existing state of the Arabs and slaves, and the difficulties under which they were working. In the fore-

going remarks in this Report my object has been to point out some of the changes which are working for their mutual advantage, and I have also attempted to show something of the real life of the ordinary slave, and to point out the reasons which lie in the way of his accepting the freedom which is offered to him.

I will now proceed to give some account of my journeys about the Island of Zanzibar. These were not made in one continuous march all over the island, but in short trips extending over a week or more at a time, starting either from town or from my head-quarters at Mangapwani.

I commenced my second trip for the year about the island at the beginning of October last, starting from Mangapwani; I went north through groves of clove trees and cocoanut palms to Bumbwini. Here the Chief of the district was away, but I met a party of about thirty Wangwana, who, hearing of my coming, had collected together to meet me. Here we had a little "Baraza," and I remained with them for about half-an-hour discussing various matters. I then moved on across the Rivers Zungwe Zungwe and Mwana Kombo, and proceeded over the low swamp to the island and town of Mwanda. Here we were met by some Askari and Mwalimu Juma, the Headman of the place, and we inspected the town together. We then went with a fairly large following to the Headman's house, where we sat and talked. In my perambulations about the town I called upon the principal Hindis. After this we went on through the extensive estate called "Frazer's Shamba," crossed the Kipangi River, and thence to Mkokotoni. Here I put up most of my men and things at the house of Salem-bin-Hamed, and after a visit to the Wali Seyyid Soliman-bin-Hamed, crossed over in my boat to the Island of Tumbatu. Here I put up for the night at the village of Jongoe, where Hamisi Jicha is Headman.

During the afternoon I went out to the village of Mtongoa, and further on to a place named Baraka. After my return the Headman wanted me to accept as a present a large goat, but as I always refused a present from the natives unless obliged to take it, I took a fowl instead, which act on my part did not, I think, displease the old man. Before I left I gave him in return more than the value of his fowl. As I had not been to Tumbatu before, and we were strangers to each other, we kept up our talk till late in the evening, discussing slaves, hut-tax, and other items. The next morning we bid farewell to our friends, and started by boat to coast round the island.

We sailed along up the west coast, and on landing at various places found the rocky land fairly cultivated, but the people, as soon as they saw us, rushed away and hid themselves, not knowing us. At the extreme north of the island there is a little sandy point, the resort of fishermen. A narrow channel here divides Tumbatu from the small Island of Mwana-wa-Mwana; crossing the channel we went up the west coast of the small island, and attempted to land at the lighthouse at the north end; but the sea was too heavy, and we had to pull a long way north beyond the reef to keep out of the way of the rolling surf which was breaking on the reef. Thence we came down the east coast to Mchangani, on Tumbatu, where there is an extensive cocoanut plantation. Here we landed and had lunch, and a talk with the people, and towards evening crossed over past Poopo to Mkokotoni. Here my men put up in the Sebule, or Baraza house of Salem-bin-Hamed, and I was given a room in his new house. This man, though not quite so polished in his manners as many of his Arab friends, is one of the most hospitable men I have met. He has always treated me with the greatest kindness whenever I have arrived at his place. He had his Sebule lighted up on this occasion, and there was quite a party of us there, talking till about 8 o'clock at night. The next morning we started on our journey to Nungwe, the north point of the Island of Zanzibar. The first part of our way took us over undulating country, fairly well cultivated, and through the villages of Shangani and Potoa on to Shimo la Nyota.

Here the ground is hilly and everywhere the consolidated coral rock crops up out of ground. Shimo la Nyota (the hole of the star) is a large depression in form like a dry pond-hole. The popular idea is that here a star (meteor) struck the earth and made the depression. The more probable theory is that formerly there was a cavern here, and the action of the rainwater on the limestone caused the arch of the cavern to fall in and so formed the depression; there are many such about the island. I shall have more to say about them further on. Passing on from Shimo la Nyota, we went over rocky ground to Mehanga-Mle and Panga Mzungu. Here I was told of some extensive ruins of houses, but the natives could not say who had built them. They have a legend that a people called Madébŭri occupied the place, but they have no idea as to who the Madébŭri were. I went off the road to see one block of ruins, and made a few photos of the place, but being told that we had passed a far more extensive set of ruins as we came along, I resolved to visit the scene if possible on my return journey and take a closer observation

of them. Thence we went on over somewhat level ground to Kidoto and Kitini. The land is fairly-well cultivated. At Kitini lives the overseer of His Highness the Sultan's shambas in these parts, an Arab named Seid-bin-Saif, and I stayed at his place for an hour. A short time after leaving Kitini we entered upon a country, the surface of which is hard rough coral rocks, with a little soil (vegetable débris) in the small depressions. It seems a marvel how anything can grow in such a place, but naturally this rocky country produces quite a forest of thick bush. We passed through the two districts of Kigunda and Kendwa. In each place there are a few scattered huts perched upon the rocks somehow, but the people seem contented with their lot, and work away on the rocky soil producing fair crops of mtama, mohogo, beans, tobacco and other things. Thence our path, through bush and over rocky ground, took us slightly to the east, and we came to some hilly country. These hills are formed not so much of coral rock as of a softer yellowish loam of disintegrated marine matter.

This is commonly called "Jasi" by the natives and is very suitable for road making. Leaving the hills and passing through the bush over a path of small fragments of rocks about the size of pebbles, and very tiring to walk over, in due course we reached a large clearing and further on arrived at the first village of Nungwe. This is built amongst the rocks in the same way as the villages of Kegunda and Kendwa. Here we rested for a while, a little further on we left the rocks behind us and reached the flat of sand on which the principal village of Nungwe is built. After a rest here and a talk with the people who came to see us, we proceeded to the lighthouse and took up our quarters in the new shed lately built for the lighthouse men. The next day our route took us back to the first village of Nungwe on the rocks, then bearing to the south-east our path through the bush took us to the village of Msongeni. This name means, practically, to "prepare food," and it is here the people feed when they return from their fishing trips on the east coast. A mile further on due east took us to the landing place or "diko" of Kanuni. Between this place and Moyoni, which lies to the south some 6 miles, there are four other "diko" or landing places from which paths lead over the coral rock to various villages inland, and thence connect with the main roads of the island. We reached Moyoni shortly after midday and settled ourselves here intending to stay over the next day. From this place there is a road leading direct to Mkokotoni and a branch one to Mkwajuni and thence on to town. In fact an askari from town with a letter for me arrived whilst I was here. Moyoni is a straggling village of a few houses built on a a narrow strip of sand about a mile long, by the sea beach. It lies just opposite the small Island of Mnemba. During my stay at Moyoni I went over to Mnemba. The island is covered with bush and some few trees, of which species of Ficus, with casuarinas and pandanus are the most frequent. I found whilst going about the bush two species of terrestrial orchids, and a tree bearing leaves having a scent very much like eucalyptus The island is remarkable for its numbers of wild pigeons. I saw many nests with eggs and young ones. It seems as if they had many enemies; whilst looking into one nest I saw two very young birds nearly covered with red ants ("maji ya moto"). Apparently they had only just attacked the birds, so I picked off the ants and put the young birds into another nest from which I had taken two larger ones which I hoped to bring up. At the north-east corner of the island there is a properly built up well, with fairly good water, but it was much in want of being cleaned out. It has the best water on the coast between Nungwe and Kiwengwa, and it would be better if the well were cleaned out and deepened. It is the only place that I have seen in Zanzibar where the "Muzimo"* is supposed to dwell in a well, and where offerings are made to it. This alone is a proof of the age of the well as shown by the mystery in the mind of the natives as to its origin. It is undoubtedly very old, and quite likely the work of the freebooters who used to frequent these parts 100 or 200 years ago. The island itself would be the best look-out place for them on the whole coast and also very suitable because there is a deep channel close up to the island running between the island and the mainland where they could anchor and hide their ships, and sail off north or south as they wanted. At present the place is a great resort for fishermen, who stay here for a week or two at a time drying their daily catches; almost invariably there are some few fishermen to be found on the island.

On leaving Moyoni we went overland to Makunge, about a mile further inland, there is a hole in the rocks where the people get their water. The whole of the country is rough coral rock covered with thick bush, excepting where clearings have been made for gardens. These clearings are seldom used more than once, never more than twice, and are then allowed to relapse into bush to be again cleared in due course.

* A species of spirit.—A. H. H.

This means very much labour, and one cannot but sympathize with these poor people when, for want of rain, they find their crops a failure. For nearly two years there has been little or no rain in these parts, and when I was there the people were reduced to eating the pith of a species of cycao (*Cycas encephalartus*), which they call "ngwede" from which they make a kind of sago.

From Makungwe we went on to Kichanga-jako on the beach, and thence on to Kigomani, the chief town of the Matemwe people. Here Hamadi-bin-Kikombe is the Headman. These people are probably the descendants of the earliest settlers on the island, and live chiefly scattered in isolated small groups all over the rocky ground in the north part of Zanzibar. These seclusive habits have kept them from intermixture from other people as Arabs and the modern Swahili, and so they have retained much of the original features, colour, and mood of speech of their ancestors. When we compare them, especially their young women with the young women of the Wahadimu living further south, we find they are quite devoid of the somewhat Asiatic type of feature and colour which these latter enjoy, and which is probably derived from a Persian source. These Matemwe are called Wahadimu, as are all the people of the east and northern parts of Zanzibar, but this is scarcely a tribal name, but rather a name to denote that all these people, who were once in a state of servitude, have been given a kind of freedom.

From Kigomani we again started inland, passed over the site of the old town of Kigomani, and through the bush to a clearing and small village named Panga-kiza. After salutations we then went on over some rocky hilly country and entered a wanda,* less covered with bush and the road somewhat more easy of travel. This led us past the south end of Kijini Hill. At the north-west foot of the hill we rested for a while in one of the Kijini villages and then went on to Kigongoni. The whole of the country about here is an elevated plateau covered with a reddish earth with coral rock cropping up above the surface. Kigongeni, as its name describes, occupies a little hillock and is surrounded by a good number of cocoanut trees. After a short stay and Madafu at this place our path took us to the south and west, and we descended an escarpment to what is probably an old raised sea beach. Thence on west for half-a-mile, and we reached the village of Mvulani. This village is on the edge of the old raised sea beach, and here I got some people to show me the extensive ruins of Panga Mzungu, which I found situated in a most extraordinary position at the base of the raised beach on which Mvulani is built. I can only see one reason which could induce people to build in such a position, and that would be to secure the use of a cave of very good water, which is included within the ruins. Being situated as it is at the base of a kind of escarpment it was almost indefensible against the attacks of the natives, and it has the disadvantage of standing on a low, boggy, malarious site, a fault which has attended the buildings of many Europeans, especially of religious bodies who have taken up their abode in the tropics. I was struck by the extent and importance of these ruins, so I had a place cleared in the inclosed space and my tent set up, and decided to stay the next day to learn what I could about them. These ruins are situated about half-a-mile south of those I have already referred to in this Report, and judging from the style of buildings and state there can be no doubt that they both belonged to the same community. As it was still early in the afternoon I began with the help of some natives with their bullocks and my men to clear away the bush, so that I could take measurements and photos of the place. Whilst this work was going on I took measurements of the space inclosed by a broken wall. The inclosure was some 600 feet long by 200 feet wide, having at each end a block of buildings surrounded by a wall some 100 feet long by 80 feet wide. Apparently there had not been any wall built where the inclosed space touched the foot of the hill. At the base of the hill and within the inclosure there are two caves, but the natives were afraid to go inside. These are not extensive, but probably would repay the trouble of examination. An important feature among the ruins is a cave of very clear good water, which is situated in the north-west angle and inclosed by the high wall. The water is some 15 feet below the surface of the ground and in some places from 15 to 20 feet deep. Though the water is so good and near at hand the natives are afraid to go to the cave, and on no case will they allow a woman who is enceinte to go there, because of the bad spirits who are supposed to inhabit the cave. Even my own men were somewhat afraid of the place, and it was not till I had been down into the cave myself that they cared to fetch water from it. After clearing away the bush from the ruins, I found that the buildings at the south end of the inclosure had nearly all fallen to the ground, but those at the north end were in better

* Open, stony plain.—A. H. H.

condition, the Sakafu or flat roofs had fallen in, but most of the walls were standing, quite sufficient for me to take measurements for making an accurate ground plan of the buildings. After taking the measurements and a number of photos of the place, I went with the men to the set of ruins I first mentioned, and had the place well cleared of bush and took measurements and photos there also.

We may learn from the loopholed state of the walls which surround these buildings that the occupants were not always free from danger, and also that they were not averse to defending themselves when necessary. In examining these ruins we see much to lead us to think that they are not the outcome of either Arab or Persian skill, but rather the work of Europeans. The neatly-cut and properly-bedded stones of the Gothic arches and door jambs, also the peculiar construction and arrangements of the buildings, point to this. Also the very name itself—Panga Mzungu, which means "where the Europeans lived, stopped, stayed, or dwelt"—point to the same conclusions. I think it is more than probable that these are the ruins of some Portuguese religious establishment which became deserted after the fall of the Portuguese power in this part of East Africa. It is worth noticing that when I was at Tangata, a place on the coast of German East Africa, some months ago I came across some smaller but very similar ruins, which a Goanese very proudly pointed out as being the remains of a Catholic chapel built by the Portuguese.

After completing my work at Panga Mzungu, I started south past Potoa to Fitinazako and Kikombetele and on to Shangwi. This latter place occupies one of the best cultivated plains in Zanzibar. It is an extensive place, and contains a considerable number of houses. We stayed here about an hour, and then proceeded through a number of small villages to Chaani. The whole of this country passed through is fertile, well cultivated, and bearing a considerable population. Chaani is not an important place, excepting that it is the residence of Hamisi-bin-Ali, the principal Sheikh of the Northern Wahadimu. I stayed here for lunch, and afterwards had a baraza with the Sheikh and some of his people. From Chaani we went westward over very undulating country to Denge, and paid a visit to the house of Soleman-bin-Hamed, who wanted us to stay for the night, but as it was still early in the afternoon, I preferred to go north to the house in Frazer's shamba, on Pale Hill. Our way took us through two or three small villages, at which we stopped. Then crossing the deep ravine of the Kipange River, we ascended Pale, and arrived at the house about 5 P.M. Here we rested for the night, and in the morning descended into the valley. Our path took us along the west foot of Pale Hill, and thence on over the Kipange River; then following the Denge Hill we passed through the thinly inhabited district of Weti, and on to Kichele and Mchangani. These districts form part of a great plain through which the Mwanakombo and Zingwezingwe Rivers flow. They are fairly well cultivated for one and other native food stuffs, but the people live at a distance on higher ground. From Mchangani we passed on through the lower part of Bumbwini to Mangapwani.

In a Report like the present it would be impossible to describe fully all the journeys I have taken about the island during the past year. The above perhaps may be sufficient to show my mode of working whilst travelling about, and the maps which I have already supplied show most of the routes I traversed either once or twice. It may, however, be of interest that I should give some further notes regarding the Island of Zanzibar and its people.

To draw a line from Ras Nungwe, the north point of Zanzibar, to Peete Creek towards the south would divide the Island of Zanzibar into two unequal parts. The western half, which is the larger, is an undulating country, the highest part of which never attains an altitude of more than 350 or 400 feet above sea level. Here and there are found moderately large plains. With the exception of a few rocky patches, all this part of the island is fairly fertile, and suitable for the cultivation of tropical produce—the plains for rice, sugar cane, and muhindi, whilst the upper land is occupied by clove and cocoanut plantations, and intervening spaces used for growing native corns and other food stuffs.

Occasionally one sees some low depressions into which the surrounding country drains, and lakes are formed in the wet season; but these again are generally dried up in the returning dry weather. There is no lack of good water to be obtained all over the island by well sinking, excepting in a few places, as on the road between Tunduni and Dunga and Kibele, and again in the south-west part of the Mwera Province; this part of the island is not thickly populated, the people rather preferring to live scattered about the various estates or on their own little holdings. The most unfertile, or perhaps most difficult for working, parts are the rocky strip lying along the coast a little south of Chukwani, and extending to Fumba, and the extensive plain lying

to the west of Uzini and Dunga, and extending as far south as Kiwani; but even this is good for the cultivation of mtama, semsem, and pepper. The soil of this western part of the island varies considerably at Uelezo. We find hilly part of the country there made up of rounded pebbles of quartoze-gneiss, mica-schist, and other rocks, bedded in a more or less coarse sand; low down in the valleys we find that this formation rests over a bed of yellow, sometimes blue, argillaceous matter. The same kind of formation is found in the headland and "Eedpyramiden," at Mazizini, on the south-east coast. The rounded state of the rocky pebbles show that all this stratum has been water-borne from some considerably distant place. Going further inland we find the higher ground covered with a thin crust of black soil, chiefly vegetable débris; under this some 4 or more feet of red loamy earth, coloured by oxide of iron, and again under this a thick stratum of light yellow marl, composed of shells, foraminifera, fish teeth, and other marine matter. In the lower parts there is generally a thick surface layer of black soil which is very fertile. Under this also will probably be found a stratum of marine formation. Probably these marine strata belong to the early part of the newer Tertiary period. A peculiar feature of Zanzibar, especially where coral rock abounds, is the appearance of isolated hills rising from 50 to 100 or more feet above the surrounding level. There is a remarkable one at Kombeni, near Fumba, on the south coast of the island. This is a mass of consolidated limestone rising more than 100 feet above the plain to the east. It is covered with forest, and has several caves about its base. This hill is now called Hatajwa. Formerly it was named Chuu, and was inhabited by a Spirit named Chuu, but after a while this Spirit became angry whenever his name was mentioned, and in his rage he used to stir up the sea and destroy all the boats and canoes near the place. At this the people became frightened, and consulted the Waganga,* who said that the Spirit was angry because his name was so commonly spoken, and it must not be done; but when speaking of the hill or the Spirit, the people must use instead of the Spirit's name (Chuu) the word "Hatajwa," which means "He is not named."

About a mile to the east of "Hatajwa," on the low plain formed of coral rock, there are two very curious caves, about 300 feet apart, named Machomvi. These both contain an abundance of fresh, clear, good water. Long ago in one of them a flight of stone steps was built, but they are now in ruins. As I shall have occasion to show further on, the coral rock is permeated with a network of watercourses. These caves are rather caverns with their domes fallen in. This was brought about in probably the following manner. It is just likely that the natural formation of the rock left two caverns through which the streams of fresh water passed on their way to the sea.

The rain water charged with carbon dioxide in permeating from the surface through the limestome, dissolved and took up some portions of calcium carbonate. On reaching the dome of the cavern the water gave off some small portion of the dioxide, and so released a corresponding amount of the carbonate which remained on the dome to form pendant stalactites. The greater part, however, of the water with its calcium carbonate fell into the running water and was carried away. This action going on for ages gradually wore away the dome of the cavern, and at last, not being able to support itself, it fell in, leaving the holes as we see them to-day.

The eastern part of the Island of Zanzibar is one huge large stretch of coral rock extending from Ras Nungwe in the north to Kizamkazi in the south. Over this grows naturally an almost impenetrable thick bush. It seems a matter of surprise how such a bare rock can support so large a mass of vegetation, and when one sees a clearing in the bush it is apt to give the idea that it is quite unsuitable for the cultivation of corn and other crops, and, as a matter of fact, the natives here cultivate this rocky ground very considerably, and much prefer it to the plains where there is more toil, but where the rocks crop up here and there above the soil (I suspect in this latter case the hard rocks hold the water, but does not absorb it, so it becomes stagnant or sour, and makes the surface soil unfit for cultivation). The native cuts down and burns all the bush on the piece of land he has selected, then, at the proper season, he plants his mtama, or semsem, or tobacco, or it may be pepper, and, if he can only get the proper amount of rain at the right time, he is fairly sure of reaping a good harvest. I have seen large crops of all these things looking well at their proper seasons. They generally cultivate the same piece of land for but one season, that is, they will take a change of crops from it. First, choroko, a kind of bean, then semsem, and lastly, mtama. After this the land is allowed to run to bush again. Tobacco in some places take the place of mtama, especially in the south-west of the island. Pepper bushes remain on the same land for three or four years.

* Medicine man.—A. H. H.

The last two years have been very bad for these people, and, had it not been that they conbine fishing with agriculture, they would have been in the greatest want.

There is not much tobacco grown on the north-east part of the island, but in the south-east on the rocky ground inland from Bweju-Paji-Jembeani and Mkunduchi, much is grown, so that several large dhows go there every year to buy it up.

The most extensive piece of unrocky ground north of Chwaka lies between Mdudu Mkubwa and Pongwe, but the natives cultivate it but very little, they prefer the rocky ground. This flat is of a light soil and contains about 2 square miles. I think it would make a fine cocoanut plantation. From this place to Bweju and thence to Jembiani and Mkunduchi there is no unrocky land, especially small narrow strips of sand along the sea beach. On most of these the natives have planted cocoanuts. Mkunduchi is some 3 or more miles inland, and has an elevation of nearly 100 feet above the sea. It is a large place, and occupies an extensive flat of real loamy country, surrounded by the usual coral rock. This soil is a little cultivated, but for their chief crops the natives go to the rocky ground covered with bush.

At Mtende it is the same as at Mkunduchi. At Kizimkazi and Moyani (the Southern Moyoni) there are considerable areas of unrocky land, but these are but little cultivated compared with the amount of rocky ground occupied by the people of these places.

The road between Jembiani, Mtende, Mkunduchi, and Kizimkazi is something terrible to walk over. It is about a foot wide and covered with loose nobbles of coral about the size of apples lying on the hard rock beneath. One day I went from Jembiani, Mkunduchi, and thence on to Mtende. Here, after seeing the Headman and people, I started to go on to Kizamkazi, but I had to stop, the sun was so hot, and the travelling so rough. Fortunately there was a clump of trees ahead, and we made for it. I was more than surprised to see the place I found there; the thick belt of forest surrounded a deep circular hole with sides much undermined. The hole was 60 or more feet in diametre at the surface; a rough ladder let down into the hole and under its undermined sides, where it is very much deeper than in the centre of the pit, there was the most beautiful, clear, fresh, cold water. On the north side of the pit, where it is undermined for 20 feet or more, there is a group of about ten stalagmites as big round as a man's body, some of which reached the roof of the cave. Here I stopped and had lunch, and then took a photo of the cave and its stalagmites. The cave or pit is called Panga la Mwaju; around it the natives have their gardens and come here to fetch water. It is easy to see how these pits or caves have been formed, probably in much the same way as the Shimo la Nyota and the water caves at Patajwa already described. After a good rest here we went on again. About 3 miles further on we reached another water hole similar to the one just described named Pangu la Panga. This also is used by the natives and guarded by them with a thick belt of forest.

It may be of interest to make a few remarks on the drainage systems of the Island of Zanzibar. In this, the western and eastern parts differ entirely. The former has a surface drainage; in the latter it is entirely subterraneous. In the south-western parts of Zanzibar there are no rivers or streams worth the name. The nature of the country rather tends to the formation of lakes during the wet season, from which the water is dispersed during the dry season by evaporation or underground drainage. The north-west part of the island is well drained. Besides a number of small streams which rise in the hills adjacent to the coast, there are three which form very considerable rivers during the wet season: these are the Zingwe Zingwe, Mwana Kombo, and Kipange, and they drain the whole of the north central part of the island. The south central part is drained by the Mwera River, which runs south. This, however, does not flow directly into the sea, but loses itself amongst some rocks near a swamp a few miles to the north-west of Kiwani. On the eastern part of Zanzibar there are no rivers whatever, but the drainage is carried on by a net-work of waterways under the surface in the coral limestone rock. All over this eastern half of the island water-holes are found in the rock, some large, some small, and the water is always good, excepting where it is affected by the side, which probably penetrates far into the caverns and waterways under the surface of the rock. These holds are never known to dry up. We find them at Makunge at the north. The extensive valley lying to the eastward of Kinyasini is drained by two surface streams, which meet in a swamp and are then lost in a large hole. On the sea-coast, some 4 or 5 miles to the east at Kiwengwa, a number of springs of good fresh water rise up through the rocks on the beach between high and low water marks. These are probably derived from the drainage water of the above-mentioned valley. In the coral country about

Kipandoni, north-west of Pongwe, there are several large water-holes containing running water, around which the natives make their gardens. A small hole of the kind is at Ufufuma, on the main road to Chwaka; there are also some others close by. Crossing over to the extensive coral flat which forms the south-east part of Zanzibar, we find these water-holes everywhere at Kongoroni, Bweju, Paji, and further south at Mtende, Mkunduchi, and Diambani. In fact, they are to be found here and there all over the coral country. The fact that the water is running or passing on in these holes is proved by the fact that the water never becomes putrid or unfit for use. Most of this water finds its way into the sea below the low water mark. These holes are called "Mapango" by the natives, and each has its distinctive name, as between Mtende and Mkunduchi there is Pango la Mwaju and Pango la Pange; at Diambani there is Pango la Kiji and others. The south-east corner is thinly peopled inland, there being only a few straggling villages, but the south-east and south coast line is the most thickly inhabited part of the island, and has the largest towns, as Bweju, Paji, Jombiani, Mkunduchi, Kizamkazi, and Moyoni. Though large, most of these are scattered over large areas of land, but Bweju and Paji are compactly built, with fairly well laid out streets, and are the most town-like places in Zanzibar. The people generally combine fishing with agriculture. A number of the younger men take to dealing, and make a precarious living by trading in fruit, fish, or anything that comes to hand. There are several Hindi's settled in these towns, as, indeed, they are to be found all over the island. These keep the places supplied with cloth, rice, and other articles, and they deal with the natives for their produce, which they forward on to Zanzibar town.

One important feature on the east coast is the mangrove swamps at Charawe and Kongoroni. Here there are extensive belts of Misenzi, Mikandaa, and Michu, which form the chief material for ordinary house-building in Zanzibar. A number of fruit-bearing trees also produce fairly good timber, as the Mwambe, Mfanesi, and Mzambarao. This wood is chiefly used for making doors and windows. There are some half-dozen indigenous palms in Zanzibar, and at least a dozen ferns, perhaps more. Of the palms, the frond stalks of the Mwale is used for making light doors for native huts, ladders, &c., the immature fronds of young plants of Mkache or Mnyaa are split up for mat-making, and the trunks of the Mvamu is split up into lengths and used as parts for house-building, where this palm occurs. This wood is very hard and durable; it is not touched by white ants, and can be used for several successive houses. The mature wood of the Mchikichi and some other palms make very good walking-sticks. Of the introduced palms, the cocoa- and betel-nut are the most important. Of late years, quite a number of ornamental palms, and also a great variety of ferns have been introduced, especially to the Victoria Gardens. One indigenous palm has lately been discovered in the north part of the island; it is one of the *Arecineæ*, probably new, but has not yet been described.

Hitherto I have not referred to the Lewalis. Seyyid Soleman-bin-Hamed, of Mkokotoni; Seyyid Serahan-bin-Naser, of Mwera; and Hilal-bin-Mahomèd, of Chwaka; and to the Kathis and others engaged in the government of the country districts in the island; and also in carrying out the Decree for the abolition of the status of slavery. These men have all been at their posts throughout the year, excepting when duty or some imperative personal obligation called them to town. I have every reason to believe that they have carried out their official duties to the best of their ability, and as far as local circumstances would permit.

Regarding their duties in reference to the abolition of the status of slavery, I have every reason to believe that they have done their best, and as well as any officials would have done in their circumstances. I have made frequent visits to the Lewalis and others during the year, but I have not once heard of a case in which a slave, rightly applying for freedom to any one of the Walis, has been refused, and in which he did not, after hearing the case, send the person to town to be given freedom. During the course of the year several slaves have applied to me for freedom. These were always sent to town, and their cases being heard, I believe in every instance freedom was obtained. It would be out of place for me here to give the number of slaves freed during the last year, seeing that all freed slaves are registered in town, and their numbers will be given in the Report of the town officials.

I must here state that the Lewalis are not at all responsible for the number of slaves set free in their districts, be it great or small; the whole matter rests entirely with the slaves. There are none who do not know of the means by which they can become free if they wish, and it rests with themselves to decide whether they will avail themselves of the blessings of freedom or not.

After the experience of about twenty-six years' travel and residence in East Africa,

Madagascar, and Zanzibar, I think I may claim to know something of the circumstances of slave life as well as of other matters in these places, and I must say that if I were in the slave's place, with the slave's breeding, training, mode of life, and circumstances, I should certainly think more than once before I left my home, connections, and well-known surroundings, to go and throw myself on the world, and to voluntarily put myself into a position where there would not be a friend to help me. I may here assert that personally I have no sympathy with the principle of slavery, it is undoubtedly a blot on the habits of one part of the human race towards another, but on behalf of the slaves themselves I say that it is no good fortune for them to be cast forcibly from their surroundings and to be thrown upon an unfeeling world. They have, I think, a right to a word in the matter themselves, and as they learn to appreciate the advantages of freedom let them come and claim it.

This is the idea that most slaves feel. They have no thought of the abstract idea of freedom; what they look at is, whether the change from slavery to freedom will be of any present advantages to them. But in many cases, after an impartial examination of the matter, they, and rightly I think, come to the conclusion that they will not be benefited by any present advantage in the least by the change, but rather they have to part from their masters and mistresses (for whom often they have great regard), their wagoli and companions, their present home and occupations. In fact they have to turn aside from every one and everything they are connected with, and in return get to them nothing—rather what is worse than nothing to them, as I have already shown, they become homeless, dispersed, and without a friend. I have said this much to show the relation between the offer of freedom and the slaves themselves, and in speaking as I have done, I have referred to the state of the great majority of slaves. But at the same time it must be stated that there is a kind of leaven working considerably in the minds of the slaves, especially those who have adopted a mode of life apart from their masters and mistresses, and these are generally beginning to see that it is of great personal advantage to them to be free, and so keep for themselves what they earn or acquire; and this same leaven is also slowly but surely working amongst the slaves who are employed on the country estates, and I am sure that it will go on working till all are affected by the same personal motives and desire to be free to act on their own responsibility.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. T. LAST,
Zanzibar Government Commissioner.

Inclosure 4 in No. 27.

Mr. J. P. Farler to Sir Ll. Mathews.

(Extract.) *Pemba, March* 13, 1899.

AS I hear the Anti Slavery Society and the Friends' Society are about to make a determined effort in Parliament to expedite the freeing of slaves in Pemba, and that they have been busily engaged in taking notes and gathering information to show that the slaves are disheartened by having to wait so long after applying to the Court on account of the smallness of the machinery, I think it advisable to send you an interim report on the true facts of the case.

At the present moment there is an abnormal number of applicants, from 60 to 100 a-day, applying to the Court for registration, and I want to show you that the cause is only temporary, and that in a short time we shall return to our normal conditions. The first cause is the accumulation of all the slaves who left their masters during the close harvest, *i.e.*, from September to January, but engaged themselves to other planters without asking for freedom. The clove harvest is now over, and these people are now applying. Secondly, my holiday in Zanzibar during January, and being laid up with rheumatic gout after my return, so that I was not able to resume work before the middle of February. The Mission Stations, and especially Banani, had received a considerable number of slaves waiting to be registered, and now these are being sent in in blocks; and, lastly, there is no agricultural work being done now; the people have finished the preparation of their shambas for sowing, and now they are merely waiting for the rains, and having nothing to do, they are coming in larger numbers than usual. As soon as the rains begin all this will cease, as these people will be busy in sowing their fields. I may point out that very few of these applicants are coming direct from their masters as slaves; nine-tenths of them have left their masters long ago, and are settled on the Government shambas, or other places, and have already built their houses in their new homes, cleared their plots,

and planted their mahogo, so that they have already obtained their freedom, and merely come to register it. To meet this abnormal state of affairs, the details of registration have been reduced to a minimum. The Court begins an hour earlier, and sits an hour later. About fifty are freed during the morning on the four days a-week the freed slaves are registered, Tuesday being always the day for paying compensations, and Friday and Sunday being respectively the Mahommedan and Christian Sabbaths.

After fifty have been admitted to the Court, the remainder are given chits for the next day the Court sits, and from constant inquiry I find very few, if any, have to wait more than two, or at most three, days. Their general answer is, "I came yesterday," or even "this morning."

Inclosure 5 in No. 27.

Mr. A. Alexander to Sir Ll. Mathews.

Sir, *Zanzibar, March* 16, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to report, in connection with the working of the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery, that during the year ended the 31st December, 1898, the slaves who availed themselves of the terms of Decree and claimed their freedom in my office numbered 484. They were all registered.

The reports of Mr. Farler with reference to Pemba and of Mr. Last from the various districts in Zanzibar, which you have given me to read, are so complete that it is only left to me to concur with their statements. One or two remarks, however, I take the liberty of making, not in the way of a report, they are ideas on the subject of slavery, in these islands, which the past year's experience has suggested.

During the year many newspapers have contained articles or letters setting forth the views of the Anti-Slavery Society: the most prominent being their dissatisfaction at the fewness of the slaves who have claimed their freedom compared with the numbers believed to be in bondage, hinting at a want of sympathy with the Decree on the part of the officials of the Zanzibar Government, and urging the home Government to deal with the slavery in the East Coast Protectorate in a different and more summary manner than that adopted in Zanzibar.

Formerly I was inclined to the opinion that the summary method advocated by the Anti-Slavery Society of freeing every one at once by a stroke of the pen was the correct one—the past year's experience has, however, convinced me that such a method would be extremely unwise, and would inflict great hardship and misery on numbers of slaves who are at present happy and contented without a compensating benefit to the remainder, or to the State.

I divide the slaves into three classes:—

1. There are the skilled workmen, such as masons, carpenters, chukuzi (coolies at Customs), brashara (vendors of food, &c.), vibarua (daily labour at coal godowns, &c.), house boys, water girls, &c., and generally all those who are occupied in town by Europeans, Indians, or merchants of various nationalities, in fact all who are in receipt of regular wages.

2. There are the domestic slaves, those who are constantly employed in the house, or about the person of the master.

3. There is the large class of shamba (plantation) labourers.

The first-class are intelligent, industrious, and useful members of the community; with very few exceptions they turn out well, and it is a pleasure to me to have the privilege of registering them as free men and women. They appreciate the advantages of freedom. When questioning such people, I always try to find out if they have any particular reason for deserving freedom, and as a rule this class give the very good reason of wanting to get all their earnings to themselves. I cannot recall an instance of cruelty or ill-treatment being given as a reason.

The second-class are also intelligent, their industry I am not so sure about. In fact I often feel, in the case of boys, that I am freeing rascals who mean to live by their wits and lead a life of idleness, and in the case of the females, increasing the number of prostitutes in town. More frequently they cite cruelty or ill-treatment as a reason for desiring freedom, but generally, on inquiry, the cruelty consists of having been punished with good reason.

The third class of slaves, the shamba labourers, I also, of course, free at once on request, but I often do so with great regret. The bulk of them are unintelligent, can initiate nothing, are devoid of resource, have no will of their own, no ideas beyond doing

as little as possible and getting as much as possible to eat and drink. Usually they can give no reason whatever for desiring freedom, have no idea of what freedom means, or what they are to do after they are free. In this class, if cruelty be given as a reason, there is more frequently found to be some slight cause for it.

I think, however, every one who has a personal experience of slaves and Arabs in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba will agree with me in stating that cruelty is most unusual, that it is as unjust for us to judge all the Arabs from exceptional cases, as it would be unjust for the Arab to judge the British working-men from reports of Courts in the home newspapers, and believe that their usual Saturday evening pastime was jumping on their wives or beating them with a poker.

It seems to me that the third-class of slaves (and a large portion of the second-class), if suddenly given their freedom, would suffer hardships nearly as great, as they did years ago when they were enslaved.

Then they were torn from their homes without having a word to say in the matter, now they would be turned out of their present houses in an equally arbitrary manner.

During the years that have elapsed since they became slaves, they have settled down and become accustomed to their life, they have their wives and families with them (there is no breaking up of families now by sale), and have usually their own little house and garden.

To turn such people out all at once would be a cruel action on the part of any Government, and crime and starvation would sure to result. At present, if they see a prospect of bettering their lot by being free, or wish to be free without any reason, they have simply to say so and they are free on the spot.

A few months ago I had a peculiar application made to me about twelve women, formerly slaves of one mistress, came to me a week after I had freed and registered them, asking to be made slaves again and offering to return their tickets.

I, of course, told them I could not do so, and sent them away apparently very disappointed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. ALEXANDER.

No. 28.

Sir A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 1.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, April* 4, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the annual Report for the last year on the Island of Pemba by Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, Dr. O'Sullivan, who has recently assumed the name of O'Sullivan-Beare.

This Report, which in its account of the present economic and social condition of Pemba, fully confirms that of Archdeacon Farler, a copy of which I had the honour to inclose in my despatch of the 24th ultimo, will, I venture to hope, be regarded by your Lordship as a very satisfactory testimony to the progress effected, from every point of view, in that portion of the Zanzibar Sultanate.

I sent it to Sir Lloyd Mathews for perusal, as it seemed to me to contain some suggestions the adoption of which might be considered with advantage to the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 28.

Report upon the Island of Pemba for 1898.

THE Zanzibar Government is to be congratulated upon the satisfactory march of events in Pemba during 1898. It is now just two years since the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery in the island was promulgated, and, so far, there has been no sign, happily, of the disastrous results which had been anticipated as likely to ensue as a consequence of that measure.

No acute labour crisis has arisen, nor any unmanageable outbreak of violence on the part of the servile population. Last season's clove crop was successfully harvested,

and proved one of the best on record. Of crime, there is very little in the island, and the Arabs in most instances have effected a satisfactory arrangement with their slaves.

Before proceeding to consider in detail the slavery question, I would touch upon some points of general interest.

The past year was wholly exceptional from a meteorological point of view. For the first time within the recollection of the inhabitants, the total rainfall was quite insignificant, a fact which is all the more remarkable since Pemba is amongst the rainiest places in the world, and its annual downfall is not exceeded probably by that of any other spot on the face of the globe. This, of course, is a very serious matter for the natives, and it meant the failure of all their crops. Of rice and other cereals there was practically none, while the mohogo, which constitutes the staple article of diet throughout the island, remained stunted in its growth, and its roots became bitter and poisonous from lack of moisture.

The Indian merchants were not slow to take advantage of such a state of things, and they raised the price of rice and other imported grains 50 per cent. The drying up of the streams and wells entailed further hardships upon the natives, who, in several instances, were forced to abandon their homes, and to migrate *en masse* to other districts where water was still to be found.

Fortunately the clove trees withstood the drought fairly well until after the harvesting of the crop. Eventually, however, the unwonted conditions told disastrously upon them also in common with the rest of the vegetation, and towards the end of last December they began to droop and wither. Enormous numbers of the trees have perished outright since then, and throughout all parts of the island one now sees great tracts of the dead bleached trees. One Arab, who owns a large clove shamba situated in the centre of the island, told me that he had counted more than 400 dead trees upon his own property, and many of his neighbours have also suffered heavily. Possibly some of the clove trees which apparently have perished may revive with the "masika" rains which have now set in, and which promise to be abundant, but there is reason to fear that such proportion of recoveries will be but small. It is impossible to ascertain exactly, or even approximately, how many clove trees have died, but their condition as a whole after the rains must be a subject of watchful anxiety as vitally affecting the prosperity of the island.

Early in 1898 small-pox was introduced into the Weti district by an Arab who came from Zanzibar, where the disease had been prevalent for many months previously. It quickly spread throughout all the northern parts of the island, and although statistics are not available, it is certain that it claimed a very large number of victims before the virus exhausted itself. At about the same time a native passenger developed the disease while on board a dhow coming from Zanzibar to Chaki Chaki; but when the dhow arrived in the harbour, the fact was made known, and measures were promptly taken to isolate the infected person. He subsequently died, but the disease did not spread any further in the Chaki Chaki district at that time. Unfortunately, however, a similar case occurred again towards the end of the year, and the sufferer, an Arab, was allowed to go to his own shamba, situated some miles from the town of Chaki Chaki. Thence the contagion spread rapidly, and for the past three months the disease has been raging fiercely throughout the central district of the island. In many places, notably Tondoni, Owli, and Vitongoji, the people are reported to be dying in large numbers daily at the present time, and the epidemic is undoubtedly of a virulent type. Some cases recently occurred in Chaki Chaki itself, but the sufferers were promptly removed to outlying districts, and there has been no further outbreak of the disease in the town. The Zanzibar Government now propose to erect small-pox sheds upon a piece of Crown land, situated at a safe distance from the town, where sufferers can be segregated and nursed. Arrangements have also been made for a supply of lymph for vaccination, and it is to be hoped that the fell disease will soon disappear.

To guard against the danger of the introduction of the bubonic plague into Pemba, the Zanzibar Government wisely ordained that no dhow hailing from Bombay or from the infected area generally, should be allowed to enter directly any port in the island. All such dhows have, in the first instance, to proceed to Zanzibar, and there to obtain a clean bill of health; after which they are free to return to Pemba. To assist in the carrying out of those regulations, His Highness' Government have recently established a special corps of coast-guards, who are located at various points along the coast and upon some of the outlying islands.

Considerable activity prevailed during the past year in the department of Public

Works at Weti. The new stone prison there has been completed and can accommodate, if necessary, as many as 100 prisoners. Happily the prison accommodation both at Weti and Chaki Chaki is altogether in excess of present requirements. When I was at Weti a few days ago, there were only some half-dozen prisoners in the gaol there, and for weeks past the number of prisoners at Chaki Chaki has not averaged even a dozen from day to day.

Special barrack accommodation has been provided for the new police force of regular askaris, whose head-quarters are at Weti, and a comfortable bungalow has been built for the European officer in command.

An excellent stairway of teak wood, similar to that at Chaki Chaki, has been erected up the face of the steep hill which subtends the landing-place. Those stairs have proved a very great boon to those whose business takes them to and from the beach, and they much facilitate the handling of import and export merchandize.

As regards the projected lighthouse on the northern point of the island, I learn that it has been decided by His Highness' Government to place the entire contract with a home firm, who will undertake all the work in connection with the erection and installation of the same.

In connection with the subject of public works, I would beg to point out the desirability of establishing telephonic communication between Chaki Chaki and Weti. There is constant intercommunication between those two chief towns, and the only method at present available is by sending runners over the 15 miles of hilly and difficult road which separate them. Such communication could very easily be effected, and at trifling outlay, as the existing cocoa-nut palms and other trees could be utilized for the necessary wirage. It was decided last year by His Highness' Government to re-establish the annual hut tax of 1 dollar,* to be levied upon all free blacks, including Wa-Pemba. Exception was made in the case of those amongst them who, as owners of clove plantations, contribute the usual 25 per cent. upon that crop; also in the case of old and infirm persons and of slaves not very long emancipated. Such hut tax was originally imposed by Seyyid Said, but it was remitted by Seyyid Barghash on the condition that the Wa-Pemba and other free blacks should provide, in lieu thereof, whatever labour might be necessary for cultivating the Sultan's extensive plantations in the island, and more especially for the harvesting of his clove crop. As a matter of fact, however, the Wa-Pemba and others systematically shirked the alternative of labour, and for years past they have given little or no assistance of any kind to the agents of the Sultan, save when they were actually forced to do so. I learn that the total amount derived from the hut tax in Pemba during 1898 amounted to 23,567 rupees. The collection of such a tax presents considerable difficulties, especially during the first year, and there is reason to believe that the said sum does not represent the full revenue derivable from that source. It was also decided by His Highness' Government last year to number and register all canoes and other small craft owned in Pemba—the registration fee being fixed at 1 rupee for each craft. This was accordingly done, and the total sum thereby realized amounted to 4,238 rupees.

His Highness Seyyid Hamoud-bin-Mahomed paid a visit to Pemba in the month of December last. This was a notable event as being the first occasion, I believe, since the establishment of the Zanzibar Sultanate, upon which the ruling sovereign personally visited this portion of his dominions. His Highness received a very loyal welcome from his Arab subjects, who flocked from every part of the island to pay their respects to him during his brief stay. The Sultan did not, however, see very much of the island itself, as he contented himself with an afternoon's promenade through the Government shamba at Tundana. In commemoration of his visit the Sultan did a gracious act in ordering the release of all prisoners throughout the island. Another notable event of the past year was the first appearance in Pemba of a very unwelcome visitor, none other indeed than the redoubtable sand flea or jigger (*Sarcopsylla v. pulex penetrans*). This formidable pest was brought from Zanzibar, and it has established itself firmly throughout the Weti district. It is a small insect somewhat resembling a flea, whence its name, and it burrows its way beneath the skin, usually of the feet and generally at the base of the toe nails. Its presence quickly produces irritation, and examination of the affected part then reveals a small hard swelling. Unless the parasite be extracted forthwith, it proceeds to lay its eggs beneath the skin, and the final stage is the development of painful, sloughing ulcers, which cripple the sufferer, and in many cases cause complete loss of the toe or toes

* The local (Maria Theresa) dollar equivalent to rupees 2 : 2 : 0.

affected. The original habitat of the jigger was Brazil, whence it was introduced into West Africa about twenty-five years ago in the sand-ballast of a ship. Since then it has gradually worked its way right across the Continent, viâ the Congo route and Uganda, and two years ago its appearance was notified at Bagamoyo on the eastern sea-board. Thence it got to Zanzibar, and finally here to Pemba. At the present time jiggers simply swarm at Weti, and there are but few of the residents, not excepting the Wali himself, who are not suffering from their ravages.

Weti has indeed been heavily afflicted during the past year. In the first instance came the small-pox, next came the jigger pest, and lastly came the crowning calamity of all, in the shape of a conflagration which broke out on the 23rd December, 1898, and which destroyed practically all of the town. Three lives, unfortunately, were lost upon that occasion—two Indian women and one male slave being burnt to death. The cause of the fire is not known, but the Indians believe that it was the act of incendiaries who were actuated by the hope of being able to pillage during the subsequent confusion. This theory, however, is hardly borne out by the facts of the case. The fire broke out at 2 P.M., and it is improbable that an incendiary would choose broad daylight for carrying out his plan. As a matter of fact, a minor fire had occurred in the town some twenty-four hours previously, which, admittedly, was produced by a spark from a kitchen. Four houses were burnt on that occasion before the flames were subdued, and it is not at all improbable that some embers might have continued to smoulder unobserved. A strong wind was blowing at the time of the outbreak of the second conflagration which, apparently, commenced by the ignition, on the outside, of the thatched roof of a house situated to leeward of those which had been burnt on the preceding day. The flames spread with uncontrollable rapidity, and, fanned by the gale, they leaped from house to house. Within an hour it was all over, and the town was a heap of charred ruins. Only those houses escaped destruction which had iron roofs. The hardships entailed upon the inhabitants were very great, as they found themselves at once homeless and destitute, for they had succeeded in saving little or nothing of their property. The financial losses sustained by the Indians exceeded 60,000 rupees, and most of the smaller traders were absolutely ruined. Assisted by their more prosperous brethren, they are now rebuilding their houses, and learning wisdom from such bitter experience, they are roofing them with corrugated iron. The old town of Weti consisted of a mass of houses huddled together without any regularity; measures have been taken to ensue that some order shall be observed with regard to the new buildings, which must be erected in line so as to form streets, and sufficiently far apart one from the other to diminish the risk of a repetition of such a conflagration as recently occurred.

During the first few months of 1898, a good deal of lawlessness prevailed amongst the slave population. Repeated complaints were made by the Arabs to the effect that the slaves had completely struck work, and were subsisting by stealing, chiefly during the night, the cocoa-nuts and other produce of the shambas belonging to their masters. Moreover, they had begun to manufacture fermented tembo* on a large scale, and when intoxicated with plentiful potations of that beverage, they would roam about, interfering with their more peaceful neighbours and terrorizing those Indian shopkeepers who had established themselves in the more outlying districts. The local askaris proved themselves quite incompetent to cope with the situation. Upon the state of things being reported to Zanzibar, Sir Lloyd Mathews organized the special force of regular askaris to which I have already referred; and in May last he sent them up to Pemba, about 100 strong, under the command of a European officer, to police the island. I may state at once that those askaris have done their work exceedingly well on the whole, and have proved themselves to be a highly efficient body of men. Police pickets were established throughout the more disaffected of the shamba districts, which were regularly patrolled day and night, and theft and lawlessness were put down with a strong hand. Those energetic measures quickly proved efficacious, and within a wonderfully short time the reactionary fit, the advent of which amongst the slaves was indeed only to have been expected, passed over, and things settled down to their normal quiet. Moreover, the moral effect of the presence of those police upon the slaves on one hand and upon their owners on the other, has been most salutary. To the former it has proved that freedom, actual or potential, does not

* "Tembo" is the juice extracted from the cut fronds of the cocoa-nut palm; after being allowed to ferment, it becomes a powerful intoxicant.

mean licence, while to the latter it has made it clear that the Sirkar is fully prepared to make its rulings respected and obeyed.

In order to put an end to the drunkenness, the two Walis made an order absolutely prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the manufacture and sale of fermented tembo within the respective Wilayats. The police patrols were charged to see that the order of the Walis were strictly enforced, and the results have been entirely satisfactory. Indeed, it may be said that drunkenness has almost entirely disappeared amongst the servile population.

In connection with this subject, I must again refer to a matter to which I directed attention in my last report, namely, the sale of so-called "Eau de Cologne" in Pemba. The pernicious stuff in question, which is really a low grade potato spirit, is responsible for nearly all the drunkenness which now prevails in the island, and I regret to say that many of the younger Arabs have become addicted to its use as an intoxicant, with results most deplorable to themselves. Germany had formerly a monopoly in the article in question, which was put up in bottles containing about 4 fluid ounces which were retailed at from 12 to 16 pice, equivalent to 3*d*.–4*d*. English money. I learn, however, that lately a French firm in Zanzibar has entered into competition, and is importing a similar spirit, but put up in pint bottles. This latter also is finding its way into Pemba, and is being eagerly bought, chiefly by the Arabs. It is the merest sophistry for the importers and vendors to maintain, as they do, that such "Eau de Cologne" is a legitimate perfume, and that they are not responsible for the fact that certain natives consume it as an intoxicant. In the first place, the article to which I refer is almost wholly lacking in the aroma characteristic of the genuine preparation, of which it is merely a colourable imitation, and obviously designed to evade the provisions of the local liquors act. In the second place "Eau de Cologne," even of the finest make, finds no favour as a perfume amongst the inhabitants of this island, who affect only strong, heady scents, such as attar of rose, musk, and sandal. Moreover, it is notorious, and at least one Indian merchant at Chaki Chaki has candidly admitted the fact that the cheap "Eau de Cologne" imported into Pemba is bought simply as an intoxicant.

During the past year there has been no instance, so far as is known, of slave importation into Pemba, and that branch of the traffic may be regarded as quite extinct.

As regards the export of slaves from the islands, considerable activity in that direction was exhibited by various dhow owners during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon of last season, but it is doubtful if any of them succeeded in carrying out their intentions, at all events after the arrival in Pemba of the regular police. The askaris, very shortly after their coming, seized two dhows which were engaged in attempts to carry off kidnapped slaves to Muscat. The dhows in question, which belonged to local Arabs, and both of which flew the French flag, were eventually condemned, and the owners and other principals connected with the transactions were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Those examples had a most salutary effect in deterring others from similar enterprise, and there does not seem to have been any further attempts made to export slaves during the remainder of that season.

The various ports in Pemba are now carefully watched by the regular askaris, and the local waters are efficiently patrolled; so that it is improbable that in future the kidnapping of Pemba slaves for northern markets can be carried out successfully to any great extent.

Considerable anxiety had prevailed amongst the Arabs, and indeed amongst the officials also, as to the probable difficulty of getting last year's clove crop harvested, and many had taken a gloomy view of the prospects. It may be said at once that such forebodings proved entirely unfounded; last season's crop not only was successfully gathered, but the picking was performed with a thoroughness which the Arabs themselves admit had never before been attained. For purposes of comparison, I give the official figures relating to successive clove crops during a period of seven years, viz. :—

TOTAL annual production of cloves in Pemba :—

	Quantity in Frasilas.*
1892	236,211
1893	259,367
1894	372,999
1895	391,461
1896	237,090
1897	240,955
1898	311,342

From these figures it will be seen that last year's returns were good. This is the more remarkable as the crop upon the trees was by no means an unusually heavy one. I have already alluded to the abnormal characteristics of the year 1898 from a meteorological point of view. The failure of the "lesser" rains, which usually may be expected at the commencement of the month of November, had affected the clove trees unfavourably, and in some districts the crop was entirely spoiled. Judged from the standpoint of former years, and judged more especially according to the conditions of labour which had hitherto prevailed, the prospects were certainly not very encouraging. But whereas in former years the picking of the cloves had been performed in so slovenly and incomplete a manner that a considerable proportion, probably not less than a good third, of the available crop had been lost, the operations of last year left nothing to be desired on the ground of thoroughness, and the output represented practically the net crop available. This, it must be admitted, was an unexpectedly satisfactory and a most encouraging result, and, in view of the facts of the case, it goes far to justify the belief of those who claimed that the abolition of slavery in Pemba would prove advantageous eventually, even as regards the material prosperity of the island. The Arabs, realizing that they had ceased to have any real hold over their slaves, were wise enough last season voluntarily to initiate an entirely novel policy: they agreed to pay their slaves in cash for every day's work done by them during the clove-picking season, and, practically treating them as free labourers. This acted as a wonderful stimulus to the slaves, who laying aside their usual habits of indolence addressed themselves with zeal and energy to a task which, under former conditions of enforced work, had been abhorrent to them. Thus, whereas in former years the amount of cloves which the slaves picked on their days of enforced labour did not average more than 7 to 8 "pishis"† per man per day, during last season they regularly gathered from 10 to 12 pishis, and many amongst them succeeded in picking as many as 14 pishis each in the course of the day.

It was this increase of energy, and of efficiency as workmen on the part of the slaves, which compensated the Arab owner for the outlay involved in paying them for their labour. His crop was picked so thoroughly, and the buds were secured in such good condition as regards development, that his net profit for the season was actually greater than in most previous years.

Payment was made daily by results: in the beginning of the season the rule was 3 pice (a little less than 1*d.*) per pishi, but the price rose as the season progressed, owing to increased demand for labour, and towards the end as much as 6 pice per pishi were paid by many of the Shamba owners. No distinction whatever was made between the slaves and outside free labourers; all were paid at the same rate, and they worked side by side in good fellowship and without any display of class prejudice.

To freemen and slaves alike, such cash payment was an inestimable boon. The crops throughout the island had entirely failed, as I have stated, owing to the prolonged drought, and it was the money earned during the four to five months of the clove harvest which alone enabled the natives successfully to tide over the famine period.

The payment during last season in cash instead of in kind, as formerly, for labour

* A frasila is equal to 35 lbs. avoirdupois.

† A "pishi" of cloves is equal to about $6\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. avoirdupois.

in connection with the clove picking, had been suggested by His Highness' Government to the Arabs in their own interests. The object of such suggestion was to protect the shamba owners against the extensive thefts of cloves which they had always suffered in previous years. The custom which formerly prevailed throughout Pemba, was for the owner of a clove shamba to pay all free people who assisted in gathering his crop, and also his own slaves who cared to work for him upon their free days, a proportion, usually one-third, but frequently as much as one-half, of the cloves which they picked. That system opened the door to extensive thefts, for the labourers, slave and free alike, found abundant opportunities of helping themselves largely to the green cloves. There was no difficulty experienced in disposing of such pilferings, as the Indian traders, especially those established throughout the shamba districts, were always ready to buy such cloves without asking embarrassing questions as to the ownership. The thieves, on their side, were willing to accept, in such cases, a price very much less than the intrinsic value of what they brought for sale. Owing to the practice on the part of the shamba owners of paying the pickers in kind, it was almost impossible to check such illicit trade, and to bring home to those Indians the charge of dealing in stolen goods; and so the Arabs continued to be robbed season after season.

Last year the Arabs, almost without exception, adopted the suggestion as to cash payments for labour, and the Walis, in order to guard against thefts of cloves, made a regulation to the effect that any native detected in offering green cloves for sale, or of having such in his possession, was to be at once arrested, and that he would be severely punished unless he could satisfactorily account for his being in possession of the same. The Arabs were informed that in case they themselves might wish to dispose of some portion of their cloves while still green, they must, in their own interests, give a written authority to those of their slaves or dependents to whom they might intrust the cloves for sale. The askaris were enjoined to see that those regulations were strictly enforced, and all the Indian traders were notified as to the purport of the new Ordinances, and warned of the penalties to which they exposed themselves by dealing in stolen cloves. Those measures proved entirely successful, and the theft of green cloves was reduced to a minimum during last season.

A few of the Arabs declined to fall in with the policy of their more perspicacious brethren, and tried to work their crops on the old lines, namely, by exacting from their slaves five days' labour in each week for nothing, paying them only on Thursdays and Fridays.

For such shamba owners the result was disastrous: the slaves, after working unwillingly for a short period, ran away, and doubtless obtained paid work elsewhere. To supply their places, even with free labour, was difficult, if not impossible, as all available hands were wanted at that season, and so those obstinate and narrow-minded owners had the mortification of seeing the bulk of their crops spoiling on the trees.

The payment by the Arabs of their slaves did more than anything else to bring home to the understanding of the latter the fact that their lot has been so greatly ameliorated. It had the effect, moreover, of establishing a much better feeling between owners and their dependents. The termination of the clove-picking season at the end of January last, found all parties in a satisfied frame of mind. The Arabs had had a good season; the price realized by their cloves had averaged 5 rupees per frasila, and the profits derived therefrom had enabled the majority of them to shake themselves clear in a great measure from the crushing load of debt to the Indian money-lenders which had oppressed them for so long.

The slaves, on the other hand, had been receiving a good daily wage for months past, and had been sensible enough to put aside a considerable portion of their earnings. They had begun to feel if not more kindly, a little less bitterly against their master, by whom they had been paid that money. The time was opportune for mutual compromise, and in a very large majority of cases a fair and equitable arrangement was arrived at by the parties concerned. The Arabs proposed to their slaves that they should continue to reside on their old holdings, and that, in lieu of rent, they should labour on their masters' shambas for eight hours on three days of each week.

The slaves in most instances accepted those terms, and it is to be hoped that such arrangement may be found to work well, and to prove to be a satisfactory solution for all parties of a difficult problem.

Thus it will be seen that slavery in Pemba has ceased to exist save in name. The slaves are fully aware of the purport of the Decree, and are prompt to take advantage

of its provisions upon their behalf. For example, a few days ago a male slave appeared before the Court to lodge a complaint against his Arab master. It appears that the latter had charged the slave with theft, which he denied, and he retorted by calling his master a liar. The master thereupon struck him with a bakara, and the slave straightway applied to the Court. As a matter of fact it transpired that the slave had not committed the theft with which he had been charged. The case was treated as one of common assault, and the Wali condemned the Arab master to a term of imprisonment.

As a result of the successful harvesting of last year's clove crop the Arabs have plucked up their courage again, and have begun to take a more hopeful view of their position. An encouraging feature of the situation is the fact that the value of shambas has risen considerably within the past three months, and many of the Arabs have been investing their profits in new clove plantations.

As regards the working of the Decree, the following are the statistics for 1898, which Archdeacon Farler, His Highness' Commissioner for slavery in Pemba, has been good enough to make out for me, viz. :—

TOTAL number of Adult Slaves registered and freed in Pemba during 1898.

	Males.	Females.	Total for the Quarter.
During 1st quarter	55	50	105
„ 2nd „	164	233	397
„ 3rd „	204	249	453
„ 4th „	187	219	406
	610	751	
Gross total	1,361		

About 200 children were freed summarily by the Wali, without compensation during the year.

The Commissioner informs me that the total sum awarded in compensation during the year, amounted to 53,460 rupees. In the case of ordinary slaves, healthy, and in the prime of life, compensation was assessed at an average of 50 rupees for male and female alike. In the case of slaves possessing special qualifications in the shape of a knowledge of some trade, the amount of compensation was increased, in some instances to as much as 80 rupees; while, on the other hand, a much smaller sum, occasionally as little as 20 rupees was awarded in cases where the applicant for freedom was either aged or infirm.

It appears that about 40 concubines in all applied to the Court during 1898: 25 were "redeemed with the sanction of the Court," and are included in the foregoing total of 751 female slaves liberated. As regards the other 15, an amicable arrangement was effected between the parties concerned.

As to the disposal of the liberated slaves, His Highness' Commissioner informs me that about 50 per cent. have been located upon the various shambas owned by the Zanzibar Government, or belonging to the Sultan personally; about 25 per cent. elected to return to the shambas of their late owners upon terms mutually satisfactory, while the remainder were taken by the different Missions or found various employments.

The Court also registered during 1898 a considerable number of contracts made between slaves and their owners upon terms similar to those which I have mentioned. Here are the official figures, viz.:—

NUMBER of Adult Slaves who contracted to remain with their owners during 1898.

	Males.	Females.	Total for the Quarter.
During 1st quarter	41	37	78
„ 2nd „	125	147	272
„ 3rd „	142	178	320
„ 4th „	75	84	159
	383	446	
Gross total	829		

Those official figures do not, however, by any means represent the total of such contracts. In very many cases the slaves and their owners have arrived at an understanding and entered into an agreement without troubling the Court. This has been the rule more especially during the past three months, following upon the termination of the clove picking.

The official figures for the first quarter of the present year are as follows, viz. :—

TOTAL of slaves freed in Pemba during the quarter ended the 31st March, 1899 :—

Males	406
Females	501
Children	68
Total	975

The total of female slaves freed includes seven concubines "redeemed with the sanction of the Court."

The remarkable increase in the number of applicants for freedom during the first quarter of this year, is doubtless to be explained by the fact that during the last four months of 1898, the slaves were busy picking cloves, and those amongst them who desired manumission, preferred to wait until the season was over.

The Court devotes four days in each week to the registering and freeing of slaves. Cases are taken in rotation, and when there are more applicants on any given day than the Court can deal with, those are taken first on the following day. Meanwhile the Government provides work, at a fair wage, for all such slaves as have applied for and are awaiting their manumission. One day in each week is devoted to the assessment of compensation. With regard to this question of compensation, I would venture to direct attention to the fact that the method at present adopted for the identification of the slaves freed, constitutes no adequate protection against subsequent loss to the Zanzibar Government though possible claims of a fraudulent and collusive nature, which may be preferred later on. It is true that in the case of each slave liberated, particulars are recorded regarding his or her physical peculiarities and characteristics, and the person is identified as fully as may be. It is conceivable, however, and indeed by no means improbable, that later on a slave who had duly received his freedom, and for whom his owner had obtained compensation, should present himself again under a different name, and, in conclusion with a supposititious owner, should ask to be made free. In such a case the supposed owner would, doubtless, be prepared to produce, if necessary, witnesses in support of his claim for compensation, with whom and with the slave in question he would presumably divide the spoil. The detection of such a fraud would be exceedingly difficult in most cases, if the parties in collusion acted their respective parts well: for it would depend upon the chance that one or other of the officials of the Court would have carried in his memory the identifying characteristics of the slave in question, and would remember him as having already received his manumission. Such a feat of memory manifestly becomes increasingly difficult and improbable in proportion as the total number of freed slaves increases; and even were the suspicions of the officials aroused, detailed search through the records of identification, relating to thousands of cases, would be a most onerous undertaking. The only reliable method of safeguarding the financial interests of the Government

and of absolutely guarding against the successful perpetration of such frauds, would be to carry out a suggestion which I formerly put forward, namely, to tatoo upon each slave freed a distinguishing and indelible mark.

The actual number of slaves who, up to the present, have taken advantage of the Decree to obtain their freedom is certainly very small in proportion to the total servile population of Pemba. The explanation is to be found in the fact that slavery has ceased to exist in the island save in name, and in the mental attitude of the slaves as a body who, being in possession of the substance, are quite indifferent about the form.

(Signed) D. R. O'SULLIVAN-BEARE.

Pemba, March 31, 1899.

No. 29.

Foreign Office to Sub-Commissioner Craufurd.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, May* 3, 1899.

I AM directed by the Marquess of Salisbury to acknowledge receipt of Sir A. Hardinge's despatch of the 17th February relating to the question of slavery in East Africa. This despatch relates chiefly to the position of slaves in Witu, and Sir A. Hardinge points out that this position differs from that in the mainland Zanzibar territories, inasmuch as the Zanzibar Treaties do not apply to Witu, where the status of slaves is fixed by the Regulations issued in 1893 for the government and administration of the British Protectorate lying between the Rivers Tana and Juba. The 4th Article of these Regulations is worded as follows:—

"The sale of slaves is prohibited. The separation of the children of slaves from their mothers is forbidden, on the severest penalties. Slaves may only be inherited by the lawful children of the present owners."

It results from this Article that no slave can have been legally purchased in the territory in question since the issue of the Regulations in 1893, and that no slave can be held by inheritance except by the lawful children of the person in whose possession the slave was in 1893; and no slave is legally held except by the person in whose possession he was in 1893, or by that person's lawful children.

Lord Salisbury would be glad of a Report from Mr. Rogers, showing how far the slave population of the territory in question is affected by these Regulations, and whether its political condition justifies the application to it of more liberal measures than have hitherto been found possible in the mainland dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

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Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019

AFRICA. No. 8 (1899).

CORRESPONDENCE respecting the Status of Slavery in East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

[In continuation of "Africa No. 6 (1898)."]

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. August 1899.

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